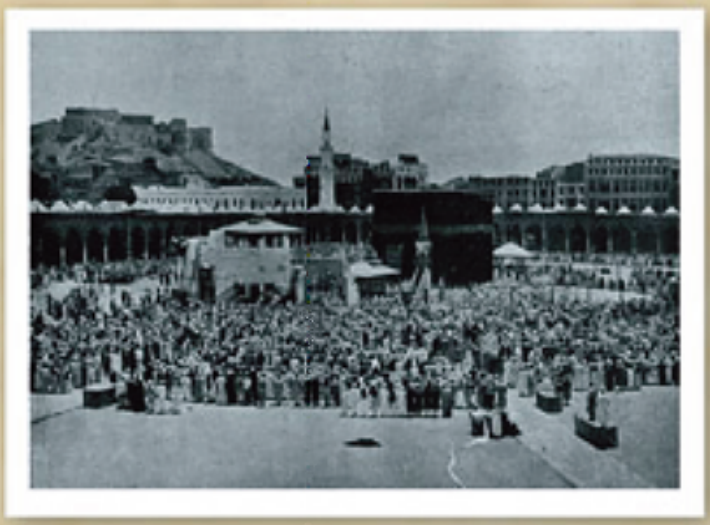
C. SNOUCK HURGRONJE



Mekka in the Latter Part of the 19th Century

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY JAN JUST WITKAM

BRILL

Mekka in the Latter Part of the 19th Century

Brill Classics in Islam

VOLUME 1

Mekka in the Latter Part of the 19th Century

Daily Life, Customs and Learning. The Moslims of the East-Indian Archipelago

By

C. Snouck Hurgronje

translated by J.H. Monahan
with an introduction by Jan Just Witkam

BRILL

LEIDEN · BOSTON
2007

This book is printed on acid-free paper.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

A C.I.P. record for this book is available from the Library of Congress.

ISSN 1872–5481
ISBN-13: 978-90-04-15449-0 (slightly revised second edition)
ISBN-10: 90-04-15449-3

© Copyright 2007 by Koninklijke Brill NV, Leiden, The Netherlands
Koninklijke Brill NV incorporates the imprints Brill,
Hotei Publishing, IDC Publishers, Martinus Nijhoff Publishers and VSP.

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, translated, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without prior written permission from the publisher.

Authorization to photocopy items for internal or personal use is granted by Brill provided that the appropriate fees are paid directly to The Copyright Clearance Center, 222 Rosewood Drive, Suite 910 Danvers, MA 01923, USA.
Fees are subject to change.

PRINTED IN THE NETHERLANDS

CONTENTS

Foreword vii
Plan of Mekka ix
Groundplan of the Mosque (Haram) xi
Introduction Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje's description of Mecca xiii

Part I Daily Life in Mekka 1
Part II Family Life in Mekka 93
Part III Learning in Mekka 165
Part IV The Jâwah 229

Index 313

FOREWORD

The author's first publication ("Het Mekkaansche Feest" 1880, in Dutch) was a full description of the rites of the Hajj with an attempt to enquire into their origin. In 1884–1885 he had an opportunity to stay for a year in Arabia, about half the year in Mekka, where he lived as a student of Muhammadan learning, and half the year in Jeddah. The result of his experiences is given in a work in German in two volumes, under the title "Mekka", published in 1888–1889. His chief object was not to study the Hajj, an accurate knowledge of which is easier to obtain by reading some of the innumerable pilgrims' handbooks (*manâsik*) than by attending the ceremonies in the fearful crowd gathering yearly in the Holy Town, in the Valley of Mina and on the Plain of Arafât, but rather to become intimately acquainted with the daily life of the Mekkans and of the thousands of Muhammadans from all parts of the world living in Mekka for material or spiritual purposes. Being a Dutchman, he took special interest in the colony, counting many thousands, of the "Jâwah", as the Mekkans call the people of the East-Indian Archipelago. These take up their abode in Mekka for years, mostly to study different branches of learning connected with their religion. Those of them who return home become the instructors of their countrymen, and in this way influence in a high degree the development of Muhammadan thought among them. These circumstances may justify a whole chapter of the book having been devoted to the "Jâwah".

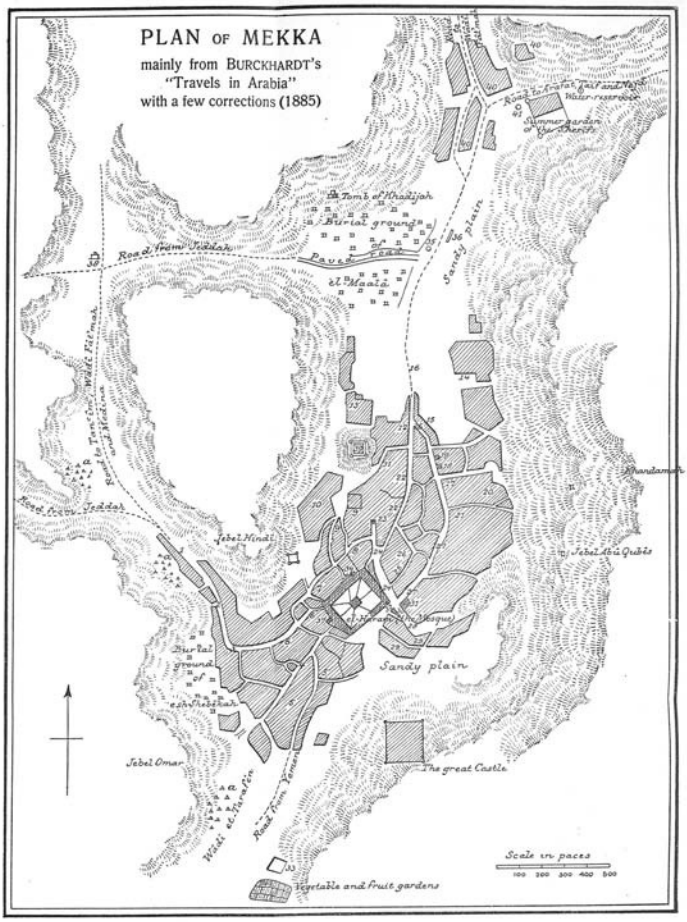
The first volume contains a summary topographical description of Mekka and a complete history of the Holy City from the time of Muhammad until 1885 AD. So far as we know, this is the only attempt at such a history that had yet been made in an European language. For the present we have restricted ourselves to the second volume, which seems likely to appeal to a wider public. This volume deals with the social and family life, marriage and funeral customs, and the learning of the Mekkans and their foreign guests, and has a final chapter on the Jâwah. Should this translation of the second volume prove to awaken sufficient interest in the subject, it is hoped that an English translation of the first volume will follow. The present translation has been revised by the author. It of course represents Mekka as it was almost fifty years

ago. The life of the town has changed within the last 25 or 30 years more than it changed during many preceding centuries, owing, partly to the very great increase of international communication, partly to the Wahhabite conquest of the Hejaz in 1925. The picture of Mekka as it was in the days of Turkish rule may have a special interest now that the old state of things in the Muhammedan world is rapidly passing away. Mekka, whose inhabitants used to boast of their spending their whole lives in the Holy Province without any contact with the outer world, is now in close relation with the West. The present Arab Governor Faisal, a son of Ibn Saʿûd, has visited several Courts of Europe, young Mekkans travel widely, and aeroplanes and motor cars have entered into competition in the Arabian peninsula with the "ship of the desert". On the other hand, much of the gay social life of the past has disappeared under the present puritan régime, which, while reactionary in matters of religious doctrine and practice, is at the same time incredibly progressive in its adoption of inventions of the modern mechanical civilisation. Many features of Muhammedan culture have, however, maintained themselves unchanged. The pilgrimage is as crowded as ever, and many other institutions remain untouched. So, a detailed picture of former conditions is not entirely out of date, and is not merely of historical interest.

In the translation some parts of the original have been condensed and some technical details and Arabic names of things have been omitted. The orthography of Arabic words does not claim any rigid consistency; e.g. the two different Arabic letters t and letters s are generally not distinguished, and the spelling of some names and titles has been given in accordance with the received European usage rather than scientific correctness.

The German edition of this work was illustrated by a plan of Mekka and by an album containing a great number of photographs of the town, of the Great Mosque and other buildings, of authorities, people occupying several functions in the Holy City, types of Mekkans and of pilgrims from different lands, especially from the East-Indies, household implements etc. Forty-five years ago these were practically the first photographs of places in the Holy Territory and of its inhabitants brought to Europe. Since that time those photographs have been so often reproduced in other works and so many new ones of Mekka and Medina have been made and spread over the world, that it has been thought superfluous to do more than incorporate in this translation some typical figures.

PLAN OF MEKKA



1. The Quarter of Jirwal.
2. " " " el-Bâb.
3. " " " esh-Shebêka.
4. " " " Sûq es-saghîr.
5. " " " el-Mesfelah.
6. " " " Bâb el-ʿUmrah.
7. " " " Shamiyyah.
8. " " " Sûêqah.
9. " " " Qarârah.
10. Huts.
11. The Quarter of Rakûbah.
12. " " " en-Náqa.
13. " " " es-Selêmâniyyah.
14. " " " Shiʿb ʿAmir
15. The Haddâdîn (Blacksmiths') Street.
16. The Street el-Maalâ.
17. The Ghazza-quarter.
18. Palace of the Grand-Sherîf Aun ar-Rafiq (1882–1905) built by his father Muhammed ibn ʿAun.
19. Palace of the Grand-Sherîf Abdallah († 1877) elder brother of ʿAun ar-Rafiq.
20. The Quarter of Shiʿb el-Maulid.
21. " " " Sûq el-lêl.
22. " " " el–Muddaʿa.
23. El-Merwah.
24. El-Masʿa.
25. Stone Street (Zuqâq el-Hajar).
26. Maulid Sittanâ Fâṭʾmah.
27. The Quarter of el-Qushâshiyyah.
28. Es-Safâ.
29. The Quarter of el-Jiâd (in this quarter are the Egyptian Tèkkiyye = Foundation Building, and the new Government Building).
30. Main guard-house.
31. House of the Wâlî (Governor) of the Hejaz, the Police Office etc.
32. Madrasah, now used as office of the Committee for the Aqueduct of Zubaydah and bureau of the Rèyyis (chief of the muʾaddhins).
33. Birket Mâjin (vulg. pronounced Mâjid) great cistern in connexion with the aqueduct.
34. Court of Justice and dwelling house of the Qâdhî.
35. Tomb of Abû Tâlib (uncle of Muhammad).
36. Watering place in connection with the aqueduct.
37. Tomb of Seyyid ʿAqil.
38. Tomb of the Saint Sheikh Mahmûd.
39. Jebel Quʿêqiʿân.
40. The Quarter of Maʿâbdah.
41. Reservoir of water from the aqueduct. Several such reservoirs are now in all the main streets.
42. Beduin huts.

EXPLANATION OF THE GROUNDPLAN

Apart from a few adjacent buildings and streets only the names of the principal gates of the Mosque are noted in the Groundplan. The references of the figures are as follows:

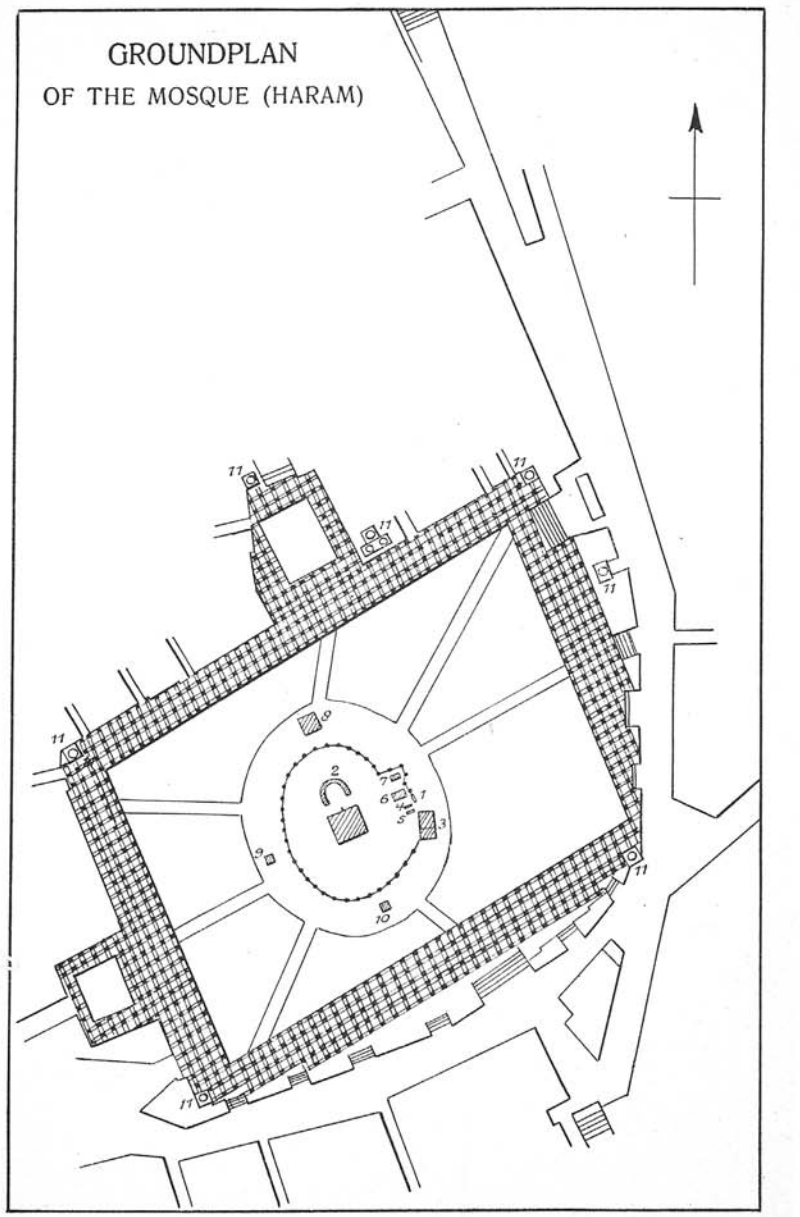
1. The gate of the Banî Sheybah (doorkeepers of the Kaabah).
2. The Hijr or Hatîm (dwarf wall); the small stroke at the Kaabah denotes the place of the gilded gutter (Mîzâb) jutting out over the Hijr.
3. The Zemzem-building.

4 and 5. The staircases for the Kaabah.

6. The Maqâm Ibrâhîm (serving as Maqâm ash-Shâfiʿî, the place of the Imam of this rite in public prayer).
7. The Minbar (Pulpit).
8. The Maqâm al-Hanafî.
9. The Maqâm al-Mâlikî.
10. The Maqâm al-Hanbalî.
11. The (seven) minarets.

The seven paths, denoted by parallel lines leading from the colonnades to the central circular Matâf (place of *tawâf* = circumambulation) are paved with marble, the space between the paths with pebbles.

GROUNDPLAN OF THE MOSQUE (HARAM)



INTRODUCTION

CHRISTIAAN SNOUCK HURGRONJE'S DESCRIPTION OF MECCA

The Dutch Orientalist Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje (Oosterhout, 8 February 1857–Leiden, 26 June 1936), the reprint of whose study on the daily life in Mecca in the latter part of the nineteenth century is herewith introduced, was not a religious man. From almost every page of his monumental study on Mecca, which was originally published in 1888–1889, it is evident that the author had but few personal religious feelings. Religion as a social phenomenon, on the other hand, had his fascination. His interest laid in finding answers to the question how and to what extent people were willing to shape their private lives and social organisation according to what they accepted as God's commands.

Ever since Snouck Hurgronje published his monograph on Mecca, the book has amazed its readers. Mecca was and is the Holy City for some, the Forbidden City for others. How had a young Western scholar succeeded, and in such a short time, to become accepted by the Meccans as one of them and to write such a detailed description of Mecca's society? Since Snouck Hurgronje has mostly kept silent about this remarkable feat, stories of legendary proportions were bound to come into circulation. That is why we will treat the episode immediately preceding his journey to Mecca in some detail.

The 21st-century reader should realize that the present book is a classic, but in many ways also a modern book. It describes Meccan society in the 1880's, and as such it is an important historical source – in fact till today the only one on the subject. The lively and at times humoristic style in which Snouck Hurgronje describes the motives and feelings of some of the inhabitants of Mecca keeps his narrative fresh and attractive. In addition, his ideas of how to have dealings with people of different cultures and religions, and how to describe these, are downright modern.

The work here published is the English translation of what appeared in 1889 in German as the second volume of Snouck Hurgronje's book on Mecca. It contains his account of the public and private life of the Meccans, of the traditional educational system in the Great Mosque,

and, last but not least, of the life of the Jāwah colony in Mecca. The first volume of the original German edition (1888) is a historical study on the City and its rulers. It reads as an account of more than a millennium of ruthless power play and unrestrained greed in the city which is the heart of Islam, but all that is not contained in the present volume. Snouck Hurgronje's realistic approach of Mecca's history does not need to disturb us as anti-Islamic bias on his part, since Muslim historians themselves are quite open-minded on the subject, in the same way, probably, as Roman Catholics think about the secret history of the Vatican: most holy and most unholy often go hand in hand.

The English translation was made by J.H. Monahan, a British consular agent who has had many postings in the Middle East. In 1909 he was British consul in Jeddah, where he became interested in Snouck Hurgronje's book and he started to make a translation. He only completed it twenty years later. The final phase of the translating was done in Leiden under Snouck Hurgronje's personal supervision and the English translation of 1931 is in fact the final authorized version of the text. It was and is a classic of exploration and anthropology, and the selection of illustrations, chosen from Snouck Hurgronje's own photographs made in 1884–1885, make the English edition a pleasantly readable, self-contained description of scenes from the daily life in Mecca as Snouck Hurgronje had experienced it in 1885.

Snouck Hurgronje had come to Jeddah and Mecca for more than one reason. The most important one was, of course, to study Islam in all its aspects in its very centre, in an environment where it was least influenced by non-Islamic elements and where it was not under foreign rule. On 24 November 1880 he had, with honours, defended his doctoral thesis in Leiden University entitled *Het Mekkaansche feest* ('The Meccan festival'). In it he not only described the pilgrimage and its ritual in a historical perspective, but in it he also addressed the question how and why the Prophet Muḥammad had incorporated this pre-Islamic, basically pagan, ritual of the pilgrimage into his new religion. Snouck Hurgronje came up with the answer that this had mainly been for reasons of political expediency. How he debunks the Abrahamic legend in Islam is a telling example of his non-religious perspective. The pilgrimage, the re-enactment of some dramatic episodes in Ibrāhīm's life and divine mission (Hagar's despair, the sacrifice of Ismāʿīl), being what is was, irrespective of the question whether it was true or false, needed study as a social, and political, phenomenon.

Snouck Hurgronje had not come to Mecca in order to study the pilgrimage alone. In the end he did not even participate in the pilgrimage, since he was forced to leave Mecca well before the season. He does indeed describe, though rather summarily, the pilgrimage while going through the ritual year. Most Meccans had to earn their yearly income in the short period of a few weeks during the pilgrimage, and in that season they obviously could not devote their attention to anything else. In the rest of the year, however, it was as if they had different personalities. Meccan society outside the hectic season was, therefore, Snouck Hurgronje's main field of study.

He had landed in Jeddah on August 28, 1884, and soon proved to be a keen and cynical observer of human nature, without much esteem of human idealism, often detecting ulterior, usually materialistic motives behind religious acts. He had also come to Jeddah, and Mecca, with a mission of a more practical nature.

Mecca had become, in the eyes of European colonial powers with Muslim subjects, a safe haven for fundamentalist activities ('Muslim fanatics' as they were called in late-19th-century discourse). The city was seen as a place from where pan-Islamic ideas could unhindered radiate all over the Muslim world, a large part of which was by then governed by European nations, the hated unbelievers. These nations felt threatened by pan-Islamism, an ideology which made of the Turkish Sultan and Caliph, in addition to being master of his own subjects, also the ruler of the hearts and minds of all other Muslims in the world, as if he were a sort of Islamic pope. The whole idea was a clever ploy of the Ottomans and they eagerly exploited this wholly un-Islamic concept. To have up-to-date and accurate information about the pan-Islamic ideas living within the Southeast-Asian community in Mecca was therefore deemed of prime importance by the Dutch government, and Snouck Hurgronje had taken upon himself the task to acquire more intimate knowledge on the Jāwah, as the people of the Malayan world are called in Western Arabia. In this connection there was another, more practical reason for political fact-finding in Mecca: The Netherlands had found itself, from 1873 onwards, in a state of war of attrition against the Sultanate of Aceh, an independent state on the northern tip of the island of Sumatra, and it was a war with strong Islamic overtones. Snouck Hurgronje's funds for his Meccan expedition had partly been allotted for the specific purpose of finding out to what extent the war was ideologically supported by segments in the Jāwah community in Mecca.

Finally, Snouck Hurgronje had come to Mecca with his academic background and a scholarly interest, being a pupil of Michael Jan de Goeje (1836–1907), that grandmaster of the Leiden school of Oriental philology. It is therefore hardly surprising that he devoted a long chapter of his book on Mecca to intellectual life, to what he called 'the University of Mecca', but what was the rather loosely organized educational system operative in Mecca's Great Mosque. Here too, he had a keen eye for human behaviour and he gave his readers their full share of his observations, not only on the curriculum but also on academic competition and university intrigue, and on the profitable symbiosis of scholars and rulers. With these four subjects, we have referred to the four chapters of Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje's *Mekka*.

Once in Arabia, Snouck Hurgronje made his preparations to his visit to Mecca in several phases. First he acquired as much information on Mecca as possible, and he created for himself a circle of Muslim friends. He spoke with many pilgrims coming back from Mecca (the festival had been on October 1st, 1884), he got acquainted with people involved in the pilgrimage business, and he met many inhabitants of Mecca and Jeddah. To them he must have been a Christian scholar with a remarkable knowledge of Arabic literature and Islamic law. He spoke the Arabic vernacular fluently. The fact that he had brought with him photographic equipment made him interesting as a potential maker of portraits. Snouck Hurgronje evidently exploited the social advantages coming along with that, and his photography proved to be a catalyst for establishing relationships and breaking down social barriers. Especially at a time when photography was still a rare and miraculous art, photographic portraits were very much sought after.

His next phase was the selection of a travel companion to Mecca, whose social network would provide him sufficient safety. In the end the choice fell on Raden Aboe Bakar Djajadinginrat (1854–1914), son of a noble family from Banten, a staunchly Islamic region in the far west of Java. He had lived in Mecca already five years, and he had of course numerous acquaintances among the Jāwah. All that made him a highly valuable person. At the time when Snouck Hurgronje and he met he had already succeeded in ingratiating himself with the Dutch consul in Jeddah by providing the Dutch with 'useful knowledge' from Mecca, to which they had no physical access. It was he who would, eventually, accompany Snouck Hurgronje on his momentous journey

from Jeddah to Mecca, where he also was Snouck Hurgronje's first host. This and other services earned him his reward from the Dutch government, a permanent post at the Dutch consulate in Jeddah. After Snouck Hurgronje's departure from the Ḥiğāz he would remain Snouck Hurgronje's confidential informant on Meccan and Ḥiğāzī affairs.[1]

In that second phase Snouck Hurgronje must have made known to a select group of Muslim friends – and probably to one or two of his Dutch intimi as well – that he intended to convert to Islam and to study the sacred sciences in Mecca. For that he first had to change his habitat in Jeddah. On the 1st of January 1885 he moved to a house of his own where he lived with Raden Aboe Bakar, away from the Dutch consulate where till then he had received hospitality. The move was also a symbolic one: it marked the moment of his transition from his Christian religion to Islam. Snouck Hurgronje took on the name of ʿAbd al-Ghaffār, 'Servant of the Much-Forgiving One'. In January 1885 he gradually started to make his conversion public, among Muslim that is. On January 5, 1885, he wrote in his diary:

> 'Important visit of Sayyid Muḥammad Muzayyin. […] For circumcision, which is performed at very diverse ages […] they use, as I learned from the *muzayyin* [barber], a little iron pincer in the shape of Λ called *ʿudda* [utensil] in order to squeeze the prepuce, and a razor blade. For the treatment of the wound, a *marḥam* [salve, ointment] is used […], which is a substance which diminishes the loss of blood and heals the wound. Our friend even told us that he used *ṭalyūn*, which in European pharmacies is called cantarion […]. It is applied to a piece of textile and that is used for covering the wounded area. After that a *ḍārūr* [application] is used for drying the wound. There are several different varieties of mixtures for this […].[2]

It is a crucial passage and a hermetic one at the same time. The superficial reader of Snouck Hurgronje's Jeddah diary can read it as one of the so many anthropological observations, this one on details of the custom of circumcision. However, why would this visit be so 'important' unless the circumcision was to be performed on Snouck Hurgronje

[1] See now Michael Laffan, 'Writing from the colonial margin. The letters of Aboe Bakar Djajadiningrat to Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje', in *Indonesia and the Malay World* 31, No. 91 (November 2003), 357–380.

[2] The Jeddah diary, MS Leiden Or. 7112, pp. 44–45.

himself? The passage on wound healing, which immediately follows the passage on circumcision, makes clear that the *muzayyin*, the barber, had not come for a haircut. Circumcision was an important detail of Snouck Hurgronje's preparations to go to Mecca. He simply could not run the risk that a stupid detail such as his foreskin would bring him into difficulties.

On 16 January 1885 Snouck Hurgronje records a visit to Ismāʿīl Efendi, the *qāḍī* of Jeddah, and others, as a preparation apparently, for his imminent meeting with ʿUthmān Pasha, the Ottoman gouvernor of the Ḥiğāz who was in Jeddah at the time. One may assume that this visit to the *qāḍī* was also done in order to confirm his conversion to Islam in front of the necessary witnesses. The gouvernor knew, of course, also of the visit to Mecca which this young westerner was going to make, and there was no secrecy in this. In these meetings, photography and portraiture had also been subject of conversation, and several sitting and standing portraits of gouvernor ʿUthmān Pasha were taken.

It has been argued that Snouck Hurgronje's conversion to Islam may not have been genuine and that, by feigning that he had become a Muslim, he had acted in an insincere way towards all those in Jeddah and Mecca, and later in Indonesia as well, who had given him their unreserved trust and their brotherly love. Snouck Hurgronje has always avoided to speak out publicly about this. In his letters, to his mother, to his teacher M.J. de Goeje in Leiden, to his friends Theodor Nöldeke (1836–1930) and Ignaz Goldziher (1850–1921), and possibly a few others as well, he has been more straightforward on this, but always up till a certain level. For the agnostic expert of Islamic Law that Snouck Hurgronje was, Islam was a series of outward acts, to be performed without rational questioning and under certain conditions by which they got legal validity. In this sense he had certainly become a Muslim, someone who practices submission. Whether he was also a believer, a *muʾmin*, someone with the inner conviction that Islam was the true and only possible religion, Snouck Hurgronje thought of no relevance to outsiders, since that was something between man and his Creator, who was the only One to look into the hearts and to judge accordingly. For our appreciation of Snouck Hurgronje's study of daily life in Jeddah and Mecca as he participated in it in 1884–1885 it is an irrelevant question.

Finally, in the evening of 21 January 1885, after a full day's journey he set foot at Mecca, a moment he would never in his life forget.

I have treated Snouck Hurgronje's preparations to come to Islam and Mecca in some detail, but I must desist, if only for brevity's sake, from discussing his stay in Mecca in the same way. His description of daily life in Mecca is not, however, a day-to-day account of the period of slightly more than five month during which he stayed in the Holy City. He learned how the sacred sciences were taught in Mecca's great mosque from several teachers, among whom Mecca's most important scholar, Aḥmad Zaynī Daḥlān (1817–1886). He was the great-muftī of the Shāfiʿite school in Mecca and the dean of the other great-muftī's, whom Snouck Hurgronje has styled as the 'rector of the Mecca's University'.[3] Evidently he participated in many private functions and public festivities as well, and he mixed with the Jāwah. He also made a series of photographic portraits of a cross section of the Meccan society.

But when he received, early in August 1885, the order from the Turkish gouvernor to leave Mecca and Arabia, all his expectations for a prolonged stay suddenly came to an end, and he had to devise strategies of damage control.[4] Although he must have realized all the time that his stay in Mecca was on borrowed time, of the book on Mecca, which he must have had in mind, not one letter had been written yet. First he had to save his notes and photographical equipment. The al-Zawāwī family, Raden Aboe Bakar and possibly also the Meccan doctor ʿAbd al-Ghaffār, Snouck Hurgronje's namesake by coincidence, they all did their best to help him. In Jeddah Snouck Hurgronje received the best help he could expect from the Dutch honorary vice-consul and shipping agent, P.N. van der Chijs, a wise man with whom he had already concluded a close friendship before he went from Jeddah to Mecca. Van der Chijs kept, between 1885 and 1889, a steady stream going, from Mecca, via Jeddah, to Leiden, of all sorts of information, photographs and

[3] See now Ulrike Freitag, 'Der Orientalist und der Mufti. Kulturcontact im Mekka des 19. Jahrhunderts', in *Die Welt des Islams* 43 (2003), 37–60.

[4] The cause of this expulsion has been extensively described by Snouck Hurgronje, in 'Aus Arabien', and other articles, which were republished together in the 3rd volume of his *Verspreide geschriften* (Bonn/Leipzig 1923).

ethnographical objects. Van der Chijs took also care that the many questions that arose during the writing got appropriate answers. A stream of learned articles on Meccan subjects had flown from Snouck Hurgronje's pen immediately after his return in Leiden, written no doubt on the basis of his field notes. The two volumes on Mecca, however, were written in Leiden, not in Mecca. This does not diminish in any way the originality of Snouck Hurgronje's approach, nor does it need to decrease the value of his observation. His use of photography made him the first westerner in Mecca to do so, and he was the teacher of the third photographer, ʿAbd al-Ghaffār, the Meccan doctor.[5]

The Meccan episode is an important episode, if not the most important one, in Snouck Hurgronje's life. In these intensively lived five months he struck friendships for life (as he had done in his students days in Leiden). The final pages of the last chapter of *Mekka* were rightly interpreted by the Minister of Colonial Affairs as a job application. So in 1889 Snouck Hurgronje went to the Dutch East-Indies where he would, during seventeen years of intense work, play an important role as gouvernmental advisor on indigenous, Arab and Islamic affairs. His Meccan connections had given him insight in Muslim life and both his colonial masters and his indigenous and Arab friends were to profit from it. In 1906, when he may have sensed that he had outstayed his welcome in the colony or that his career had reached a cul-de-sac, he grasped the opportunity to succeed his teacher De Goeje, and he enjoyed the Leiden professorship with great gusto. Already on his way back to The Netherlands he laid down ambitious ideas for an anthropological study of the Ḥiğāz. Mecca had never been far from his mind, nor from his heart, evidently. He had sound recordings made, which in 1909 was as much of a novelty as photography had been in the 1880's. He had informants write down all sorts of texts, from geographical surveys, to *fatwā*'s on early sound recording of the Qurʾān, to texts of popular songs, to lists of manuscripts in Ḥiğāzī libraries, etc., etc. In the end, however, nothing much came from it. University life (and old age for that matter) had requirements of its own, and he may have underestimated these. The appearance of the English translation in 1931 of his second volume

[5] See now Claude W. Sui, 'Die Pilgerfahrt zu den heiligen Stätten des Islam und die frühe Photographie', in: Alfried Wieczorek & Claude W. Sui (edd.), *Ins Heilige Land. Pilgerstatten von Jerusalem bis Mekka und Medina*, Heidelberg 2006, 40–63.

of *Mekka* was a last and final act of interest and of recollection to that period which had meant so much to him in his late twenties. It is hoped that this book on the daily life in Mecca, which has now been brought out in a newly typeset edition, will again revive a well-deserved interest in Snouck Hurgronje's phenomenal description of the Meccans in their Holy City.

Leiden, 26 July 2006 Jan Just Witkam

PART I

DAILY LIFE IN MEKKA

An observer in the Mekka streets of the different types of inhabitants, from the fair-skinned Turks through all intervening shades to the pitch-black Nubians, might be tempted to think that only Renan's principle of nationforming, "*le désir d'être ensemble*", could have gathered together so motley a multitude. It is, however, not so. The different nationalities take here for the most part, as everywhere else, an unfriendly attitude towards one another, and the opinions held by one nation of another are repeatedly expressed in unfounded calumnies and malicious jokes. There can be no question then of a desire to live together. The majority of those Mekkans who still clearly show marks of their foreign origin have been attracted here by the wish to be Allah's neighbours, and this gives a quite peculiar impress to the collection of foreign colonies.

Little notice need here be taken of the garrison and the continually changing Turkish officials. The other believers also who settle in Mekka are often partly induced to do so by worldly motives. The heavenly advantages hoped to be won in Mekka are in the prayer-formulae always represented in the guise of a profitable trade (*hajj mabrûr wa-dhanb maghfûr wa-tijâret lan tabûr*, i.e. pilgrimage accepted by God, sin forgiven, profitable trade). Many Turks, Egyptians, Syrians, Bukhariots and other Central Asiatics, as well as Indians and so forth, combine with their figurative trade a very real one, and introduce into the poor town luxuries, the existence of which on so unfruitful a soil is as a miracle to the simple-minded pilgrims. Also the more refined industry in articles which are not imported ready-made is here to a great extent in foreign hands; for a carpenter, a joiner, a pipe-maker it is in fact a recommendation to have come from outside. Such artisans come from the culture-lands of Islam; they are followed to Mekka by many beggars, who come either for the yearned for pilgrimage, or because they can follow their occupation better here than at home. Notably from Central Asia these beggars

come here through the lands as dervishes, wrapped in motley rag-clothes, their head covered with the high Tartar felt cap, in one hand the road stick and the wooden rattle with metal rings whose noise accompanies their monotonous litanies, in the other hand as a receptacle for alms, the beggar's wooden bowl, or the beggar's nut, generally a cocoa-nut. Most of the sturdy impudent beggars belong to this class, the ordinary *shahhâtin* (criers) or *maddâhin* (praisers) (two terms for beggars) are decently behaved. The song or pious ejaculation of the beggar is nearly always addressed to the Creator, and he before whose sitting-or dwelling-place the cry for alms is sounded, need, if he means to give nothing, merely send the beggar on to the next door with an "*Allah Kerim*" (God is merciful). Foreign beggars, and other poor people, who have happened to come in the train of richer men and who are never going home again, content themselves later on with the less profitable situations in which the born Mekkans do not choose to work. Hence one finds for the most part strangers as door-keepers of the mosques, who promptly take charge of the sandals of entering worshippers, as porters of private houses which are occupied by several families, and as labourers in all kinds of work that is not done by slaves.

Notably the Indians draw a large profit not only from trade, in which they are active, but also from money-lending. The Moslem usury-law is, it is true, very severe, and, in the pictures of the last days, lending at 50 per cent is given as a sign of the approaching judgment, but many usurers have no scruple about violating the canon-law and the interpretation of it gives them every sort of opportunity of getting round it.

The commonest modes of evasion are: 1) a higher sum is mentioned in the bill which is for a fixed date; 2) the lender sells the borrower some article at a high price to be paid at a future date and buys it back from him, as arranged, for a smaller sum to be paid down at once, which latter sum is really the amount of the loan. Others have proved apt pupils of the Indians in these matters. I have known born Mekkans who according to the bills in their possession had to get from Javanese alone sums lent of from 50.000 to 80.000 Maria Teresa dollars (M.T. dollar = about 2/–), though money-lending was not their main business but only a subsidiary one. The lenders were in despair over the bad state of things in Java, though the sums really amounted at most to only half of those stated. The lenders belonged mostly to the middle

BUKHARA DERWISHES

class. These usurious practices should make the Mekkans daily expect the Judgment. The ominous word interest (*ribâ*) is, however, carefully avoided, what the Mekkans aim at being described as "profit" (*merâbhah*).

Among the most serious competitors of the Indians in this business are the Hadramis. These come to Mekka almost invariably without money, but endowed with great adaptability and endless endurance. No sence of honour hinders them from making their choice of trade or situation accord solely with the advantages that circumstances offer. Many have begun as heavy porters in Jeddah where the guild of porters carries on the whole traffic between town and harbour: some of these porters become rich men. In Mekka, they, in the first place, seek situations as day labourers in some trade. They thus gain local and technical knowledge of which they as soon as possible make the most on their own account; a fourteen-year old boy who has earned some 25 dollars at once puts 20 of them out at interest, and such small loans often bring in one hundred per cent even though the time for which the money is lent is only a few months.

From Yemen many come to Mekka with the same aims as the Hadramîs, to whom however they are inferior in energy. Hejaz proper, south-east from Taif to Wadi Liyya, sends poor Bedouin families into the town; such a family gets for its dwelling-place a part of the vestibule of a large house, and performs in return with absolute fidelity the duty of doorkeepers. This work is especially important at the time of the pilgrimage when the heavy baggage of dozens of pilgrim families is piled up on the ground floors. In general the poor Hejazis are much more trusted as doorkeepers than the civilization-spoilt Selêmânis, Moroccans, and others. In the S.W. quarter of the town dwell a whole colony of Bedouins from the province of the "two holy places" (i.e. the Hejaz), most of them in miserable huts, the more well-to-do in simple houses. They transact the hiring of camels to Jeddah, Taif, and Medina (in which capacity they are called *mekharrijîn* or *mitsabbibîn*) and the importation of sheep, milk, butter, and dates from their native places. Smaller Bedouin settlements of the kind are also found to the north and south of the town, too far off to be counted as part of the town. Nearer and joined to the south part of the town are the huts of the negroes, namely the freeborn Takruris and the freed slaves who join them. They work as heavy porters, or clean out the latrines, or

make rough earthenware, or *mekabbahs*,[1] housebrooms and so forth.

If we add that, especially from Egypt, women come to Mekka who offer themselves as wives to marrying men or contract marriage unions that only serve as veils for prostitution, the reader will now have a fairly correct idea of the worldly motives that bring Muhammedans to make themselves townsmen of Mekka. Of all the nationalities mentioned, however, many individuals live in Mekka from purely religious motives; they have desired to study the holy lore in the holy place, to live in the neighbourhood of renowned pious learned men or mystics, to atone for old sins, to purify dirtily acquired property by partly pious spending, or to pass their last days on holy ground. Only of the "Jâwah" (the peoples of the East Indian Archipelago and Malaya) can it be said that all who wish to become Mekkans are free from any *arrière-pensée* of gain, though some even of these after years of residence become tainted with the Mekkan cupidity. By these peculiarities and the total lack of beggars, these people are distinguished from all other neighbours of God. Those other "neighbours of God" are to be found among all classes of the population of Mekka; but it is strange how few of the natives of Central Arabia choose the town for their permanent dwelling-place. Those who do are almost all merchants, the rest come only as pilgrims and soon return homeward. They revere, however, the holy ground as much as any other pious Moslim, whether they have been brought up in Hanbalite rigour or Beduinish laxity; only Mekka *society* seems to them corrupt. On the holiest soil, a most unholy Babel has, according to their view, arisen: for them Mekka is a great town into which the Devil has imported all sorts of immorality under the name of culture.

The immigrants of different nationalities begin by forming separate societies; though their dealings may bring them into contact with various circles, they have intimate intercourse with their own countrymen only. So far as different kinds of Turkish subjects are concerned, or those who, like the Moroccans, are confounded with Turkish subjects, this separate living has a social but no political significance. Even the subjects of European powers are as a rule

[1] *Mekabbah* is the name of a hat-shaped cover of plaited strips of palm-leaf, interlaced with ornamental woollen threads of various colours. It is put over a plate containing food sent e.g. to persons invited to a meal, who were not able to attend.

with good reason careful not to come forward as such lest they should be mocked and insulted by the inhabitants and unceremoniously expelled by the Government. Only in rare cases is it useful for foreign, and notably English, subjects that the local authorities should fear their reserved support of the Consulate in Jeddah. They rarely come into personal contact with officials; should such a case arise, they are either treated entirely as natives, or, before they can make good their rights, must present a formal request for the Sultan's protection (*himâyah*) under which they thenceforth remain. Of recent years the rule has been followed that all foreigners who wish to own real property in the Hejaz must become Turkish subjects. The naturalization has frequently taken place, but has no legal validity outside Mekka, and the European authorities have had nothing to do with it. For transactions, however, between officials and members of the foreign colonies, both parties have needed the help of some sort of go-between. The difference in speech and manners would otherwise make it very difficult for the police, for example, to avoid continual mistakes. As go-betweens have acted for the most part, the *sheikhs* or *metawwifin*, i.e. guides, who have from the beginning always looked after the needs of the newcomers. The Hadramîs, whose native land neither is nor will be really subject to any foreign power, nor to Turkey, have from of old their own sheikh who transacts business between the local government and his countrymen, just as the sheikhs of the different wards of Mekka transact the business of the "sons" of their respective quarters; and his sitution is mainly administrative. Another people who on like grounds has one of its own countrymen as sheikh is the Selêmânîye, i.e. the Afghans and their kinsmen. The Turkish Government, however, interferes in the doings of each of these two colonies over the head of its sheikh whenever it finds it necessary to do so.

As Mekka is partly a town of foreigners, the whole many-tongued mass of humanity which we have now superficially passed in review feels itself there quite at home, but always as foreigners. Many foreigners, however, no longer belong to a foreign colony. Their inclination, business relations, or other causes have brought them into such close connexion with the Mekkan community properly so-called that they have gradually taken their place in it. Between these and the "colonists" there is an endless series of gradations, but no sharp dividing line. Marriages are the chief bonds of union; he who has married a woman reared in Mekka, becomes himself more

or less a Mekkan, and in the second or third generation the origin of the new family is as good as forgotten. So this central body of citizens is ever assimilating to itself new elements which are not drawn together one with another by any affinity. When we take into account moreover the consequences of polygamy and concubinage we can suppose that each quarter of the town contains in itself almost every imaginable type of the human race, and that often in one family every possible hue of human skin is represented. On the types of the different elements of the population the continual assimilation-process can have no levelling effect: only in costume, manners, speech, and character is seen the ever present and growing and still ever incomplete oneness.

In spite of its variegated composition this community shows a decidedly Western-Arabian character which comes out through all the imported usages and customs, and which has been impressed on it from above by their numerous sherîfs and sèyyids (descendants of the Prophet by his daughter Fatimah) and the other old Mekkan families, and from below by the influx of Hejazis and Harbis. This character has to no small extent been kept up by the circumstance that the South Arabian immigrants very closeley resemble the Mekkans in speech and manner. These South Arabian Hadramis and Yemenis have continually reinforced the productive class which sets the standard of character for the whole city community. The other new citizens have had to give up more of their original native customs before they could obtain full citizenship, though on the other hand they have on their part influenced by their customs the life of Mekka. Though almost every nation shows its presence by some strange words which have made their way into the Mekkan dialect, yet that dialect is decidedly West Arabian. Though in clothes the Mekkans have borrowed various details from the Indians, yet one recognizes the Mekkan by his dress, and he is not unwilling on certain feast days to put on Beduin costume. With many dishes of foreign cookery the Mekkan practises a hospitality of the genuine Arab type. Towards the pilgrims, who must yield their harvest to the Mekkans, the latter show only a formal and apparent hospitality, but in their own real social life they are hospitable to extravagance.

It is rather the transformation of the town into a holy town than the presence of foreign elements that has caused the deterioration of the Mekkan character.

It is strange how in their mutual relations the different quarters

PROMINENT SÈYYID OF MEKKA

MEMBERS OF THE SHERÎF-CLAN

of the town have followed the usages of Central Arabia. Here as there feuds lasting years arise from trifling sources; a quarrel between children of two quarters, or the fact that some scape-grace has driven the dogs of one quarter into another, will start endless enmity. No man of one of the two quarters can then venture from his own quarter into the other without the danger of stones being thrown at him from houses or even, in the night time, of him being attacked with knives. While the noble men, that is all sherîfs,[2] and some sèyyids of great families, are always armed with daggers (*jambiyyehs*)[3] at their girdles, the "son of the town-ward" carries his bowie-knife under his shirt on his naked chest. If it comes to a great affray (*hôshah*), these people arm themselves moreover with bludgeons (*nabbûts*), and the heroes of these ward-feuds are fond, in a friendly circle, of baring their close-shorn heads so as to show the scars where their skulls have been broken by the "enemy". In the town these fights take place generally at the foot of the Abu Qebês hill on the spot where, according to the legend, Muhammed called the Moon to him and bade her split herself. To avoid untimely intervention of the police the fighters often take advantage of the Mekkan feast-days when great assemblages gather at somewhat distant spots, viz. the tombs of holy people. If a combatant falls or dies of his wounds the sheikhs of the town-wards concerned generally arrange the payment in money of the blood-due which is always levied from the whole of the guilty ward. Every member of the ward gives by an arrangement called "*firqah*" = division, a contribution according to his means, and the payment of the whole (seldom less than 800 Maria Teresa dollars) takes place by instal-ments. Wounds are dealt with according to the "*jus talionis*". Vengeance being however wreaked on the first man to hand that belongs to the hostile party, there always remains an account to be paid on one side or the other. When the man who has inflicted a serious wound is known, the sheikhs often contrive a peaceful settlement by what is called the "*náqâ*". The two wards invite each other to a feast and, before the feast, meet together, face to face, when the wounder steps out of his ranks and wounds himself with his knife. He goes on doing this until the opposite

[2] In Mekkan parlance *sherîfs* are descendants of Hasan, son of Ali; *sèyyids*, who are much more numerous, are descendants of Husain brother of Hasan.

[3] Literally 'worn on the side', though in fact it is worn in front, stuck in the girdle. In Central Arabia it is called more correctly *qiddâmiyyeh* (*qiddâm* = in front).

party cry out: "It is enough," whereupon the two parties greet one another and by the meal taken together become bread- and salt-comrades. The peace then lasts so long as Allah wills.

So the Mekkan citizens by no means yield to the noble "sons of the Prophet" in readiness to transgress the God's peace which should prevail in the holy territory. They also have their "wars" and "tradition", following therein the example of "our Lords the Sherîfs," and the general Arab custom. While manners and language of the West Arabian kernel of the population maintain substantial preponderance, the character of the whole mass, kernel and accretions alike, bears the impress of their chief occupation, the exploitation of pilgrims. As all, from the highest Sherîf to the beggar, get their living directly or indirectly from the influx of strangers, "God's guests" (that is the pilgrims while in Mekka; in Medina they become Muhammed's guests), see "God's neighbours" (the Mekkans) from the most unfavourable point of view, and bring away with them onesided and false notions of their characters. The pious pilgrim who has cherished dreams of an idyllic state of things in the holy land is terribly disillusioned when he sees just at the very pilgrimage-time only fevered striving after gain. To us this seems but natural, as Mekka offers no other source of livelihood, and as competition increases rather than diminishes. I must once again observe: he who sees the Mekkans outside the pilgrimage season (in it they are like, business men when on 'change') finds them gay, affable, hospitable to extravagance, entirely devoted to social life, and he who obtains admission into good family circles meets, along with many vulgar creatures, also noble human characters and unfeigned piety.

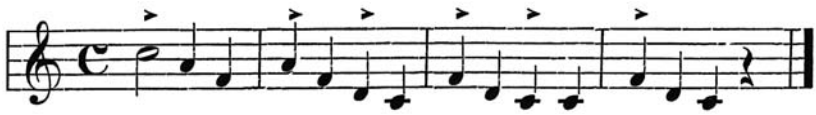
Before we enter upon a more detailed portrayal of the social life of Mekka citizendom set as it were in a frame of foreign colonies, we have to consider an important element of the population, an element which from time immemorial has been entering the town in masses and has been both physically and morally of the greatest importance in the formation of the Mekka type or rather types: I mean the always unwilling immigrants from Africa and the Caucasus, the slaves, who have of late been again so much talked about.

Circassians, male and female, come via Constantinople. Their number is small on account of their high price (a white slave costs

RICH MERCHANT OF MEKKA WITH HIS CIRCASSIAN SLAVE

more pounds than another costs dollars), and in Mekka they are never sold in the market. The female Circassian slaves are pretentious concubines little esteemed by the real Arabs, and the slave boys are house servants or "*amasii*" of fashionable people. The very widely spread paederasty is a conspicuous result of that West Arabian Babel-culture which is abhorred of the Central Arabians. One of the most famous Qur'an-reciters in Mekka was so addicted to this vice that everyone was careful to keep his young sons far away from his house. When the Circassian "*amasii*" grow up, their masters usually set them free. They have generally had a good education, and, if their masters have been in business, have acquired much practical knowledge, which knowledge makes it easy for them to set up as agents for their patrons or as merchants on their own account. It is well-known how easy it has always been for them to get positions in the Turkish Government service.

Much more important both for trade and for their contribution to the element of Mekka society are the African slaves. By the name of Nubians are known in Mekka all those shining pitchblack negro slaves who are employed in the hardest work of building, quarrying etc. The other dark-skinned work-slaves who also are imported for the most part from the Sudan are known simply as negroes, "blacks" (*sûdân*, plural of adjective *aswad*: black). These latter also have generally begun in the work of "stones and mortar". Their owners send them in their boyhood to the building work so that they may learn to speak Arabic fluently. During this apprenticeship they are initiated by their countrymen into their new conditions of life, just as recruits are in the first weeks in barracks. The less promising among them remain, like the Nubians, labourers, and, as such, are hired out by their owners to the builders and others. Their education is generally confined to learning the most indispensable ceremonial of Islam, and, though they are often very negligent even in this, the Mussulman disposition of these big children can be described as almost fanatical. From Thursday afternoon to Friday morning they hold festival, regaling themselves with their national music, with song and dance. Each community of such negroes has its own Sheikh who settles disputes by his judicial sentences, and by his side stands an officer called *naqîb* with a stick to carry out sentences. The negro-orchestra consists of the six-stringed feathered *tumburah* (which word is also used for the whole orchestra) and of some drums (*tubûl*). Besides, a slave wears

a rattling girdle of sheep's hoofs wherewith he dancing and nervously shaking his body makes a great noise. With the musicians most of the people present form a circle and intone for hours together their monotonous "song" in which the following note-series is frequently repeated:

The third bar is repeated as often as the voices can hold out, then the fourth is immediately succeeded by the first and so on. Within the circle two or more slaves dance round with long sticks in their hands, and make movements as it were of fighting. In the pauses one or another of those present takes an intoxicating drink called "*bûzah*", but even without this the concert of itself is enough to make like drunk the always somewhat exhilarated negroes. On Friday afternoon they go back to their allotted work which is generally not too heavy for them though most natives of Arabia would be incapable of such bodily efforts in the open air. Their food is quite sufficient: for about fourpence a day a labourer can be well fed here. Clothing and lodging are in that climate almost superfluous; the natives and negroes however get as much of these as they want. After their liberation they seek employment as day-labourers, watercarriers, and so forth; for the most part they prefer to remain in tutelage, especially if their master gives them leave to marry.

The more mentally-gifted blacks find employment in all sorts of housework or as shop-servants. Well-to-do men, especially tradesmen,[4] like to fill their houses with slaves, whence the life of the latter becomes a very easy one, but also the slave of all work has in a citizen's house no hard time, and all are members of the family.[5] The better kind of shop-slaves become confidential employés to whom slavery remains only a name. House servants are almost invariably set free at about the age of twenty, one reason being that

[4] Only wholesale traders are called *tujâr*, retailers are called *béyyâoîn* (sellers) with the addition of the ware in which they deal, and their profession is called *bê'washirâ'* = selling and buying.

[5] For example the pitchblack son of a rich merchant whom he got by a negro slave girl, was once in my presence erroneously addressed by a civilized Mekkan as the slave of his father.

their occupation would otherwise bring them almost daily in contact with many free and unfree women. Also the well-to-do owner feels himself bound when possible to set up the faithful servant in a household of his own, and the liberation is itself a very meritorious work; the family tie remains as before.

There is hardly an office or position that is unattainable to such freedmen. They compete with the free-born on a footing of perfect equality, and the result shows that they are not the worst equipped for the struggle as they are numerously represented among the influential burghers and the owners of houses and business establishments. A reason why his colour is no handicap to him is that the freeman also rears black children from his black concubine.

It may seem incredible to many and yet it is true that the Mekka slave market, which now through political circumstances is the chief slave-market, gets occasionally small consignments of slaves from the British and Dutch East Indies. The slaves who are Dutch subjects would doubtless be mostly from the heathen districts of Celebes or Borneo or from the Island of Nias; they are also sent to Egypt, and the Turkish teacher of the Egyptian princes told me of several of his acquaintances who had had such slaves. Of young slaveboys from Hindustan I saw many, and also I saw four freshly imported British Indian slave-women. Whether they had been carried off by robbers or sold by their parents, and from what districts they came, I was unable to learn.

The tie which unites the slave-women to the family to which they belong is so close that I will treat of them more naturally in my second chapter, that on family life. Here I need only mention that the black women being the strongest, are used for housework in the kitchen or living-rooms and sometimes at the same time as concubines, while on the other hand the Abyssinian women, among whom are represented all hues from bright yellow to dark brown are in the first place concubines and most of them do some lighter housework. The Abyssinian male slaves are likewise naturally of various types, and are accordingly not all used for the same purposes. All Abyssinians, being considered more refined and more intelligent than the negroes, are much better educated than the latter, and are used as body-servants or business employés. In the slave trade under the name Hubûsh (Abyssinians) are comprised all slaves from the countries near Abyssinia; connoisseurs make nicer distinctions, and the buying public generally knows fairly well the peculiarities

of the Galla or Guragé, so that e.g. one man will take only a Galla woman and another only a Guragé woman for his life-companion.

All kinds of African slaves were (1884–1885) obtainable in large quantities through the brokers (*dèllâl's*). The slaves of both sexes exposed in the slave market (a large hall near the mosque gate called Bab Dereybah) are partly fresh arrivals and partly offered for sale by masters who no longer need them.

He who enters this hall with European conceptions and perhaps with recollections of Uncle Tom's Cabin in his head will at once get an unpleasant impression, and will leave inwardly disgusted. The first impression is however false; most Oriental travellers unfortunately bring us little but their first false impressions.

On the benches near the wall sit girls and women, the adults lightly veiled; before them sit or stand on the ground male slaves of riper years; in the middle play dozens of children. Some slave-brokers converse together or with their living merchandise. One of the spectators is giving special attention to a small black boy. The broker charged with the sale of this boy calls him up and shows the stranger his hair, his legs, his arms; makes the boy show his tongue and teeth, and meanwhile praises his style and his skill. If the customer is a sensible man he now addresses the slave himself, for no slave deceives a person who might ever become his master about his own merits. "Can you speak Arabic well my boy?" "A little, Sir, but I understand it well." After this introduction, the boy who is being questioned tells all that he knows about himself. The broker does not delay to show the part of the boy's body where he has small-pox marks with the words: "He has gone through the small-pox" (*mejaddar khâlis*), for inoculation, though practised in Central Arabia and approved by the Mufti of the Shafi'i rite in Mekka, seems still hardly at all to be used for slaves. If the customer is still doubtful, he goes to a doctor who examines[6] slaves for money. If he is very pious he has recourse to what is called "*istikhârah*" that is he leaves the choice to God by performing certain religious ceremonies and then going to sleep and letting the decision depend on his dreams, or, if he is superstitious, he goes to a divinely illumined sheikh or to a *rammâl* (sand-diviner).

---

[6] *Yeqèllib er-raqîq.*

Before the deal is closed, the customer asks the slave: "Are yon willing to serve me?" (*ènte râḍî*) and, from the answer, even though negative, experienced men can almost always understand whether he is really willing or not, whether his "No" means dislike for his future position or merely a human disinclination to any unknown change. But no one would buy a male slave against his will, and still less a female slave against her will. On the other hand if a slave, male or female, is discontented with the house in which he or she is serving, they do not hide their discontent and they go on repeating their "Sell me", until their owner at last brings them to the sale-bench (*dèkkah*). It happens even that female slaves without leave offer themselves for sale in the market: this has of course no legal validity, but the owner is seldom inclined to enforce his rights and keep the slave-woman with him against her will.

What impresses us most unpleasantly, is the examining and feeling of the human merchandise as if in a cattle market, especially when it is young women. From closer inquiry however, it results that no female slave (not to speak of males) feels more dislike of such overhauling than a European lady of a medical examination. This indeed is at once apparent in the market, for the stranger has scarcely gone on a few steps before the babble starts: one slave girl is telling her sisters of the funny questions the man has put to her, how the broker tried to deceive him but she has stopped his lies, and then they all are joking and laughing together. Neither in the market nor in the house are any tears shed by slaves over their unfree state. Their distress, if any, may be due to their dislike either of a particular owner, or of the transition into a new situation. If they ever weep after sale, this can be best likened to the weeping of a girl who is taken to a boarding-school or of a young recruit on his way to barracks. A few examples will best shew how easily in such matters we may come to wrong conclusions if we consider social relations piecemeal.

It may well happen that an European passing a night in Jeddah is awakened by a noise in some neighbouring house inhabited by an Arab. Looking out he might see a slave lying on his back with feet up in the air and an Arab quietly giving him some sound blows on the soles with a stick, while the boy cries out: "I repent of my sins, by God, there is no God but God. Help, in the Pro-

SERVANT AND EUNUCH WITH THE CHILD OF THEIR MASTER

phet's name. O my master — O men!" Such scenes are not pleasant, and they are nor rare either in Jeddah or Mekka. Would the European then be right in taking his strengthened Uncle Tom impressions home with him as the truth about slavery? By no means: more experience would have shown him that the Arab punishes his own son just as severeley if he has commited some fault. The traveller has witnessed no scene of slave life, but an example of the Arab "pedagogy", which is the same for slaves and offspring and is entirely out of agreement with modern ideas.

Quite another scene met me in Mekka. A Mekkan of good position (*kubâryyeh*), of a family of former muftîs, used often to visit me and, like other Mekkan gentlemen, used to bring with him a young black slave as '*pedissequus*' or footman. I was struck by the extremely polite manner in which my guest used to ask whether his own slave wanted anything, and to invite my servant who stood at the door to sit down, and so forth. When I once complimented him on this, he told me the following story: "When I was small boy no "one at home attended to me so much as a slave of my father's "named Selîm, who so became quite specially my '*dâd*', or little "father, as such a slave is called. He did everything to please me, "and brought me up thoroughly well, so that I was always demanding "from him more and more service. Once I was on the third floor "and wanted a plaything from a room on the same floor. According "to my lazy habit I called Selîm to bring it. He was below in the "courtyard, and could not hear me when I cried out from the "window: "Father Selîm, Little Father". I cried out at last angrily: "'Oh Selîm, come up I say'. And as he still did not hear. I gave "him repeatedly the angry call: 'You rascal Selîm, don't you hear?' "In the meantime my father had crept behind me unobserved, and "he suddenly gave me a box on the ears that sent me back into "the room and knocked me down. He then gave me a beating on "the soles of my feet, while he administered to me a sermon about "politeness to inferiors, without which we could have no hope for "God's mercy, and he ordered me to go down at once and beg "pardon of the slave who knew nothing of the matter. Neither the "box on the ears nor the sermon has been lost to me; I thence-"forth began rightly to appreciate the kindness of my '*dâd*', and "the lesson has ruled for all time my behaviour towards those whom "God has given us to be our servants".

Such principles have many followers. Still a onesided idyllic

notion of the slave's life based thereon would be just as mistaken as the opposite one. Taken as a whole the position of the Moslim slaves is only formally different from that of European servants and workmen. He who knows the local conditions exactly knows all this, and knows moreover that the abolition of slavery would mean a social revolution for Arabia. There are many well-informed persons who do not wish to say this openly only for this reason that it is unpleasant to them to set themselves up against a ruling opinion which is apparently based on really humane sentiments.

It may be answered that European public opinion might temporarily be reconciled to the continuance of slavery in Moslim countries, as this institution, likewise legally recognised in biblical antiquity, cannot be abolished in those lands by a resolution of an European Congress, if people would only content themselves with the slaves now to hand and would not procure new wares by cruel slave hunts in the dark continent. Just now (1888) an anti-slavery fever has been excited from various quarters in Europe, and this makes more difficult our task to obtain a hearing for the sober truth. We can therefore refrain from recalling once more those scenes of slave hunting or slave raiding which have been popularised often in an exaggerated form by newspapers and periodicals. That these belong to the evils of humanity we cannot dispute. The question, however, how to help it, varies its form according as we take the standpoint of ideal theory or consider in the first place what will be the practical results of each method of attack, and what is practically for the moment attainable.

The theorizers keep their eyes fixed on the total abolition of this slave-hunting which is admitted to be condemnable; though thousands of innocent people should be ruined, much European riffraff be transported to Africa, and the solution of the African question in a way that will benefit the natives be made ever more difficult — still, '*fiat justitia*'! How stands the case? The negroes have invited neither Europeans nor Arabs into their country; both are to them unwelcome guests, for they disturb their comfortable repose which is only now and then interrupted by murderous wars between neighbouring villages. Many stories which I have heard from African slaves (they are glad to speak to good friends about their past) confirm what the best African inquirers report of this mutual butchering, and they add that where such a state of things does not

prevail slave-raiding would hardly be possible. Into this savage society there enter Europeans and Arabs.

The Arab, and the Muhammedan in general islamizes wherever he can, and even English Christian missionaries in Africa have not been able to refuse admiration for the result. Clean villages with well clad inhabitants who live moderately and devote themselves partly to agriculture and industry, partly to learning, these things distinguish the Moslim districts from the heathen, in which latter often all is wanting that gives worth to life and human life is held at little worth. In these countries the Arab believes himself entitled to lay hands in another way also. His religion allows, nay orders him to make his own property those unbelievers whose land has neither been subjected nor united to the realm of Islam.

At the present time when no Moslim state fulfils the mission of Islam in this regard, the religion invites private individuals and societies to incorporate the negroes by force into their culture and at the same time make some money. They fall upon villages, which otherwise are exposed to the attacks of native enemies, and they cut down any one who tries to stop them carrying off all the serviceable boys and girls; elsewhere they buy prisoners of war, who otherwise, failing ransom, are killed by their own countrymen, or where parents prefer money to children they buy the latter from their parents. A few forced days' marches were always required to bring the human wares to the nearest slave store. Anti-slavery has however forced the *jellâbs* (slave-takers) to make detours in which often a twelve hours' march is needed to reach the nearest water. So, on such a journey and similarly on the longer journeys through Africa, much more of the captured people lose their lives than formerly, and this has been the effect of anti-slavery which has not diminished the number of slaves. But until the slaves have been brought into safe Moslim territory, the humane Moslim slave-law is not in force for them: on the road they are treated as booty, and all other considerations give way to this. Although, then, the *jellâb* in his own interest spares them as much as possible and as little ill-treats them out of cruelty as he has carried them off out of cruelty, still it is easy to understand that the weaker fare ill on the way. Many a dying slave is flogged on to the end. Slaves however have also told me of *jellâbs* who have encouraged them in kindly fashion on the march, and, where it was possible, have given them a lift on the pack animals. The fact always remains that,

however great a progress in life it may be for the slaves who have once been safely landed on the other side, this man-robbery with its immediate consequences is a frightful evil.

The Europeans act in Africa otherwise than the Moslims. Some energetic men, and many broken individuals press from different sides into the dark continent, almost all seeking to make money. Some at the same time are serving the greedy policy of some European power. The attainment of these designs is impossible without the sacrifice of many negro lives and much negro happiness: we are accustomed to regard this as a necessity. No small part of the gain is secured by the gigantic import of spirits. When this mode of civilizing combined with other evils worked by colonization has made the black "children" rebellious against the guardianship imposed upon them, then their ranks are thinned by powder. Even if they are spared by spirits and powder, their control over their land is taken from them, and they themselves are made into helots, in no way incorporated into the community of culture of their masters, but used by the latter as instruments.

Here and there the Christian missionary follows the undisciplined army of culture with his spiritual remedy; but what good can he do in such an order of things? When he himself hurries ahead as a pioneer, he is quickly followed by those chosen Christians whose home has been too hot to hold them. Sincere Christians who have looked into the facts have always been ashamed to see on the one side the half-naked negro representing our culture with top hat and brandy bottle, and on the other side the quiet industrious black Muhammedan testifying to the power of Islam. In the face of these facts, is Europe, before she can point to a single more or less civilized negro state that has arisen under her influence, is she bound or even entitled to preach everywhere and before all things the crusade against slave-raiding, although she knows that it will go on in a way which will be still more unfavourable to the negroes and that, though it may cost the negroes as many lives as our civilization, yet those whose lives are saved are raised up and formed into members of an ordered society? The thousands of negroes and Abyssinians who have been carried off into Moslim lands and there remember their earlier life consider themselves as made into men by slavery: all are contented, and not one wishes to return to his native land. Is it then allowable that Europe with all her own social evil should so fanatically carry on her mission in Africa against the slave-traders? No! there

is first something better worth doing in Africa, and when the negro people learn the value of life, the slave-raiding will stop of itself: the mischief lies in the internal state of the country.

The anti-slavery fraud is no fraud on the part of the honourably intentioned great public, but the men of high politics keep up the false fire for quite other than humane purposes; so the Christian world takes towards Islam an attitude of misunderstanding and falsehood.[7]

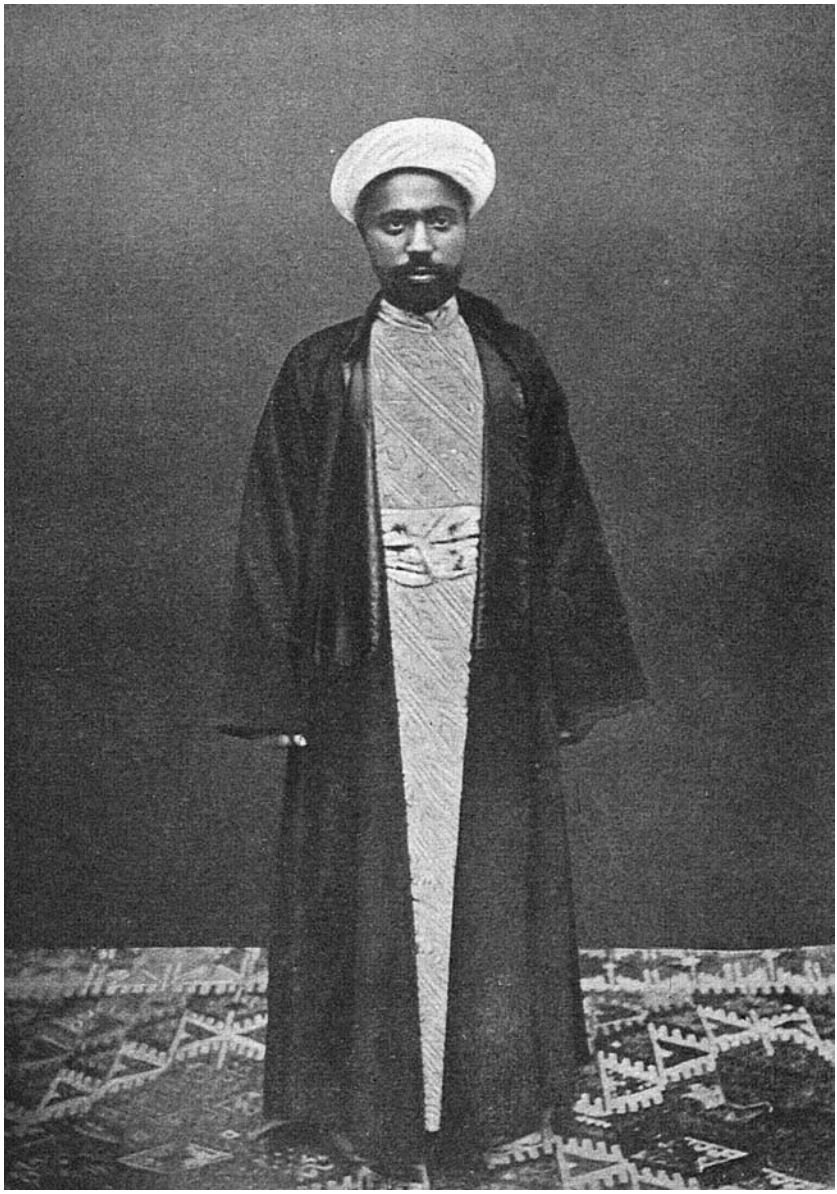
Our digression can be excused on the one hand by the high importance existing from time immemorial of slaves and freedmen for Mekka society, and on the other by the present actuality of the slave question. It is easy to see how much influence the Africans must have had on this society when once they were formally adapted to the Arab mode of life; the women became mothers of Mekkans, and the men helped to rear them.

The great abuse condemned even by Islam but still maintained, we will not here leave unmentioned — the castration of such slaves as are to attend on the women of people of very high position, or have to keep order in the mosques in the holy town.[8] In Mekka most of the eunuchs are of the latter class. Very few are kept by private persons. All are imported already castrated, but the demand for this article for the mosque makes Mekka an accomplice in this evil. Among the *aghas* (eunuchs attendants in the mosques) are found Nubians, negroes, and Abyssinians, often strongly built but seldom amiable people.

We have now seen enough to understand that all Mekkans get their living directly or indirectly from the holy sites in and near the town. With regard to the different classes and trades it remains only to define in what way they make their religious capital pro-

[7] I may relate here the following anecdote which I have heard from many slaves: When some years ago English warships were carrying on in the Red Sea an often very profitable piracy in the name of anti-slavery the slavedealers naturally sought means to hide the slaves on board while their ships were being examined, and that the boys and girls might not betray their presence by singing and crying on these occasions, they were regularly told that these leprous looking white pirates were cannibals! Certain it is that the activity of these cannibals has not contributed in the slightest degree either to the welfare of the slaves liberated and to a great extent shot down by them, or to the abolition of slavery.

[8] These eunuchs are called *aghas* or more rarely *tawâshîs* and so when a man exceptionally allows a young unmarried man to have conversation with female members of his family, he says to people who might be scandalized that the young man is like an *agha*.



DOORKEEPER OF THE KAABAH,
WHOSE FAMILY (THE SHEYBAH) HAVE HELD THIS OFFICE
FROM TIME IMMEMORIAL

ductive. As the Moslim does not need the intervention of a priest for any religious act, very few are in a position actually to put a tax on the use of a holy place. So the exploitation of the Kaabah is the privilege of the old noble family of Sheybah; they do a trade in the used *kiswah* (great holy covering of the Kaabah) of each year, selling small scraps of it as amulets, and on the days when the Kaabah is opened[9] to the public, or on the rare days when a rich stranger pays a large sum for an extra opening the Sheybahs receive money presents from the rich and from nearly all strangers entering. A Mekkan says in joke, when he sees a Sheybah smiling: "It seems they have opened the Kaabah to-day". On these and some other occasions the aghas (eunuchs) also get something, and a whole swarm of various other people follow the visitor with superfluous service.

The management of the Zemzem-well was the hereditary charge of the Abbasides. Since the time when these abandoned their claim, the building, within which is the mouth of the well surrounded by a thick wall, is open to everyone, and nominally every one can climb on to the wall and let down a leather bucket over the iron railing into the well. However, poor and serviceable men always occupy the places when the water is drawn, and they do not *demand* any reward. As a matter of fact there is a great guild of '*Zemzemîs*' who monopolize the distribution of the well water. Anyone who wants to have the water poured out over him or to get it 'quite hot' from the well, goes himself to the building, and so do the Mekkans whenever they want to have their jars filled. In general all guardians and distributors of holy things come to meet the citizens of the town with offers of service without raising any claims, and also the other mosque servants and door-keepers are glad to be on good terms with them, for all Mekkan citizens have their friends among the pilgrims and so can use their influence in the sharing of the booty. All the Zemzemîs have and keep in the mosque 1) their great clay jars, resting on wooden stands with metal cups fastened to the jars by chains, 2) their earthen cooling jars (*dôraqs*) of which many dozens ready filled are kept lying in the shadiest corners of the mosque. Both kinds of vessel are institutions managed

[9] The number and dates of the days vary, like everything else in the mosque arrangements in Mekka, according to the will of the authorities. The 10th of Muharram, 27th of Rèjèb, 15th of Shaaban, and some days of the Ramadhan aud Hajj months are the commonest opening days.

by the Zemzemîs, the large jars cool the water only slightly, and are drunk out of only by the poorer mosque frequenters, while the better class regularly have their drink served to them by their Zemzemîs out of a cooling jar with a copper cup. Nominally any one can bestow one of either kind of jars for the public use and charge anyone, for a reward, with the regular filling and proper distribution. It is traditional however to commit these services to the Zemzemîs only, and the latter, though they formally bind themselves to do for the general benefit of the public the work for which they are paid, yet for intimate motives serve as a rule only those among strangers who are their customers. Generally the pilgrim gives, soon after his arrival, at least one dollar to the Zemzemî who has been recommended to him, and for the dollar the latter buys a cooling jar, inscribes on it the name of the pious founder, and adds it to the jars under his care. Thenceforth he constantly comes to meet the pilgrim with his jar, and does not fail as occasion serves to call his attention to the desirability of a more extensive pious foundation. He offers him his services for pouring water over his body, for which he expects a special reward. He tells him how the mats and carpets that he spreads out for worshippers in the mosque are pious foundations and are beginning to be worn out and to need renewal. In short he pulls in every way at the purse-strings of the newcomer. He who spends freely gets every day his filled jar brought into his house, and especially in the month of fasting are such jars brought round in great numbers so that the inmates of the customer's house as well as he himself may break their fast with Zemzem water, and so that the congratulations at the end of the month may not go unrewarded. On the staircase of my dwelling once came together two Zemzemîs with filled cooling jars — the fight that ensued ended in both rolling down with jars broken. Moreover the procuring of tin and glass vessels filled for export with Zemzem water brings the well servants great profit. One of the accomplishments acquired in view of competition is the speaking of several foreign languages whereby the Zemzemîs inspire confidence in their customers. This is one of those profitable trades which attract so much attention on the part of the Government that a man can secure for himself the Governments protection in their practise only by a licence (*taqrîr*) from the Grand Sherîf which licence is not granted for nothing.

Outside the mosque are many holy places to which one can obtain admittance only by a gift to the owner or caretaker. The birth house of Fatimah (*Masqat Sittanâ Fât'mah*) in which Muhammed lived for years with Khadîjah, and in which the visitor kisses a stone hollowed out in the middle, the kiss being given because Fatimah is supposed to have been born in it; the dwelling-house of Abu Bakr, the birth houses of the Prophet, of Ali, and of Abu Bakr, in which houses again black and green stones[10] are kissed, over which stones stand wooden chests covered with carpets such as are found elsewhere in mortuary chapels: in the graveyard of al-Maalâ, the domed tombe of Khadîjah and Aminah; near that graveyard the prayer-house of the Jinn where the seventy-second chapter of the Qur'an was revealed: and countless other less generally visited buildings of historic interest.

The gate-keeper generally acts also as reciter of the prayer formulae which the pilgrim repeats after him sentence by sentence: in these formulae, besides the usual commonplaces and the first Surah of the Qur'an (the Moslim Pater-noster), there is always a committal of the visitors profession of faith to the safekeeping of the holy person of the place, for thus the visitor believes that in the day of resurrection he gets a new trustworthy witness to his belief in Islam. Also the holy sites that lie open to the public have all their settled parasites who pester the pilgrim either as beggars or as prayerleaders; these people have no official character, but are still ready to assert with the fist their traditional rights against competitors.

By far the greater number of the Mekkans however get a living from the holy places in an indirect way. No matter how exactly the stranger may have studied the ceremonies of the great and small pilgrimage (and most do not so study them) he can in no case dispense with the help of a man familiar with the local conditions; and the same thing must be said of the voluntary visits to holy spots. Immediately on his arrival on Arabian soil, that is

[10] In most of these stones we see tenacious remnants of the old stone cultus, as in general in the holy territory there are countless traces of old Arabian superstition. I cannot regard the custom of kissing (not embracing) the Black Stone of the Kaabah as relatively modern. The passage in Ansâb al-Ashrâf p. 230 (de Goeje, *Mémoires etc.*, p. 102 note) refers not to the Black Stone but to the custom of clinging in prayer to the Kaabah which takes place from of old between the Eastern Corner and the Door.

generally in Jeddah, he needs a guide, to take charge of him at the outset, to show him Eve's tomb, and later to hire for him camels and drivers for the journey to Mekka. If the pilgrim is not an Arab, the guide must also serve him as interpreter, and also, in Mekka, in househiring, making ordinary purchases and so forth, he would meet with the greatest difficulties if he attemped to make his way without the official go-between. At least during the first weeks of his stay he can make no step, enter into no relations with others, have recourse to no official, without the help of his *'mutawwif'* (i.e. properly the guide for the perambulation round the Kaabah (*tawâf*), but used in common parlance for strangers-guide in general).

Of all the guilds in Mekka that of the *mutawwifs* is then by far the most important. There are small *mutawwifs* who carry on their business with the help of their families, their servants or, as occasion arises, some hungry friends. Those in a larger way deal personally only with the most important cases, and especially look after their rich customers, but leave the real work to a whole army of sons, younger relatives, slaves, and permanent and temporary employés. There are even mystics and learned men who give only their honoured names so that their obscurer kinsmen may act under their style and title and then give them a share in the profits.

Each mutawwif puts his services at the disposal of the pilgrims of a particular nation or even of a particular province whose language he speaks and with whose peculiarities he is familiar, for without such knowledge the guiding of the pilgrims would be difficult and the exploitation of them would not be successful enough. From his business connections he gets information when a ship is approaching with pilgrims for him on board. To meet important guests he goes himself to Jeddah, or sends his son there to supervise the reception which they get from his *wakîl* (representative whom all mutawwifs have in Jeddah); the less important he commits at once to the wakîl's charge. At the unloading of the little boats (*sambûks, ze'îmahs* or *qetîrahs*) which carry the pilgrims from the roadstead to the shore the guides or their men are in attendance. They hire the porters who carry the pilgrim's luggage into the town, and they take an active part in the distribution of gifts to the customs officers. They are able quickly to take the measure of their customers, to find out what accommodation they need and for how long, and in what things they take most interest, and from the beginning they

BOAT MEN IN JEDDAH WITH THEIR GUILD CHIEF

PUBLIC CRIER IN JEDDAH

fix on the lodging that will best suit each customer out of those which they have to dispose of.

After the pilgrims have visited the many yards long Mother of Mankind and have hired camels for their further journey, they put on the pilgrim dress (which now consists generally of two bath-towels wrapped round the naked body), and in two days they reach Mekka. Here they at once perform the small pilgrimage (*ʿumrah*), for which no special time of the year is fixed, and then put off the strange costume. For the ceremonies one or more personal conductors are assigned. These are according to the literal sense of the word the mutawwifs or guides; when acting in the service of others, they are called *delîls* or showers, or, if young to the work *sabîs* (apprentices). These delîls show them what to do in all circumstances, and direct the course of their charity which always flows on these occasions. They bring the gifts into the way of their business friends, and themselves get something out of it when rich doles have been bestowed through their intervention. With the Arabs it is in general the custom that in every transaction the third party, who may have taken part in the business only with a few words of recommendation, should get a small present; why then should not the mutawwif who has disposed of his customer's purse to good purpose get his percentage of its outgoings: of the house rent, the price of food and other commodities, the sums which pilgrims bring with them on the Hajj for the representatives of their dead relations, the cost of the donkey ride to Tanʿîm, where the pilgrim dons pilgrim dress for further little pilgrimages, or to the Cemetery, of the reward of the guides (*muzawwirîn*) who are taken at the Cemetery? Of all these items they get somehow their share.

According to form the mutawwifs and their helpers play all the time towards their clients the part of gentle hosts and make themselves agreeable to each. Without hypocrisy they recall to the pious traditions about the holy places. "He who sleeps a night here has equal merit with one who elsewhere performs pious exercises"; "every good work is worth seven-fold here"; "the intention is worth the deed except in regard to bad deeds"; "the water of Zemzem serves for all purposes for which it is drunk" etc. That they themselves believe all this can be doubted only by the sceptical European who has to some extent lost the understanding of religion. It is no proof of unbelief that the mutawwif is not always absorbed in

these things, for his chief care is to make many friends: he will guide the worldly man to the chief points of social life in the town, to those parts of the Abû Qebês Hill from which a view of the whole town can be had, to the best opportunities for picnics (*qêlahs*). If such guides and their helpers outside the pilgrim season neglect all sorts of pious practices which they urgently recommend to the pilgrims, this is not defect in faith, but admitted laziness: "I beg pardon of God, but I am quite satiated with the *Haram* (Holy Mosque)", have I often heard such a one say who, in spite of the much smaller reward in Heaven, was performing his prayers at home instead of with the congregation in the mosque.

The culture and conditions of life of the mutawwifs are very various: some of them are somewhat highly educated. Others, who owe their good business to their relations with highly placed persons in the official world are entirely uncultivated, and have risen by pure 'savoir faire' from helpers to independent mutawwifs. Most of these helpers are entirely ignorant. I once astonished a pair of them by telling them that at the time of the Prophet the four orthodox schools (*madhabs*) of interpretation of the law were not in existence. They generally know the local rites as a Museum attendant knows the contents of the collection which he watches.

For the Hajj (great pilgrimage) again the mutawwif makes all arrangements. He provides camels, tents, provisions, and fuel for the journey to Arafat and back: provisions and sheep for sacrifice are also bought in the Mina valley through the mutawwif. On each detail of the ritual a helper of mutawwifs instructs the pilgrims who are committed to his care, speaking to them in their own language and reciting to them the proper formulae which they have to utter. Both before and after the Hajj pilgrims go to Medina to visit the tomb of Muhammed: this visit is in all cases not obligatory, and is at the most only an annex to the great pilgrimage. Also for this journey to Medina the mutawwifs hire camels with their appurtenances ('*shuqdufs*' or litters of which one hangs on each side of the camel, *mafârish* or *hanâbil* that is carpets laid over the litters for protection against the sun, '*furûsh*' or beds and so forth).

It can now be understood how important the guild of mutawwifs is for Mekka where the Hajj must yield the yearly harvest. He

who would achieve success in the trade needs the help of many people and of a favourable time; he on the other hand who has got success has very many persons at his disposal who without his help cannot get their share. Of the numerical importance of the guild we can form an idea when we remember that the exploitation of only the Jâwah (Malay) pilgrims occupies 180 guides with their numerous hangers on. Over all is the 'Sheikh al-Mutawwifîn' who represents the most general interests of the body, protects traditions against attacks, and on the other hand must also help the Government in the introduction of new measures. However, the mutawwifs of each nationality form by themselves again a more or less closed group: the pilgrims have not only their own language, but also their own customs, their own[11] preferred holy places; and all this naturally gives rise to special business circles and special interests. So the mutawwifs of the Turks, Egyptians, Maghrebis, Indians, Jâwah etc. each form a small guild of themselves under their respective sheikhs. In ordinary life each one of these mutawwifs is called a sheikh, "sheikh of Turks, Egyptians" etc. and the head of a division is called a sheikh of sheikhs (Sheikh al-Mashâ'ikh).[12] Few words change their sense so much according to the connection in which they are used as this word *sheikh*. The headman of a village, or a family, or of a group of families is just as much a sheikh as is the sheikh of a town quarter or the sheikh of a group of nobles. If a brother in a mystic society speaks of 'our sheikh' he means his spiritual chief, while by the same expression the student signifies his teacher, and the professed man of learning the chief of the *ulamâ*. As a common mode of address the word has a much more extensive signification, just as every mode of address tends gradually to get degraded. Thus, even as the head of a guild is the sheikh of his guildsmen, so is the mutawwif the sheikh of his pilgrims. We will then henceforth call them by their current name of sheikhs.

As the guild system is founded on tradition only, any one is theoretically free to render such services to pilgrims for money, but in practice the undertaking would be met by such difficulties

---

[11] Among the many places favoured by the Turks is a bath in *Súq èl-lêl* called the bath of the Prophet. According to the tradition of the worldly-wise Mekkans this was originally a public bath whose owner was called ʿAbd èn-nèbî. The words Hammâm ʿabd èn-nèbî were shortened into Hammam èn-nèbî, and hence the legend that Muhammed had bathed here.

[12] Thus we hear of the Sheikh of Sheikhs of the Indians, of the Jâwah etc.

that a man of good position would never expose his ease and good name to so great a danger. The men of the guild would rise against him like one man. The consideration which they have for one another in spite of all their mutual jealousy would be forgotten in their dealing with the interloper. In secret and in public he would meet nothing but enmity, and no pilgrim could be advised to entrust himself to such a 'blackleg' or 'gâte-métier'. There is a like state of things in every guild, but in none are the traditional rules so strictly observed as in this most important and most numerically strong of all guilds. There are however interlopers, but these are such as would be found unworthy of admittance in the corporation and their clients are only such pilgrims as are too poor or, like many Maghrebis, too stingy to pay proper remuneration. These interlopers are called '*jarrârs*', and lie in wait for their prey at the entrance of the town and in or near the mosque. When pilgrims arrive from a country whose inhabitants so seldom travel to Arabia that they have no special 'sheikhs' here, the Guild-Master decides to whom they are to belong for exploitation. Such pilgrims can of course always appeal to the Government when the decision does not please them.

The Guild Master also decides about the admittance of new members, and so it is considered whether competition will not be made too severe by the increase in numbers, and further whether the candidate has acquired claims by honourable conduct and proved capacity. Other considerations too are put in the balance. The Guild Master, himself a creature of the Government, can hardly reject a candidate who is recommended by high officials: others recommend themselves with equal emphasis by their influential position or by important presents which they hand to the Sheikh as an introduction to their candidature; also the personal sympathies of the latter play their part, though he is always declaring that like a good father he feels the same love for all his sons and is forwarding the interests of them all impartially. This love however appears to the sons to be of a somewhat doubtful kind, for this reason especially that the Sheikh is compelled to put in force the mostly very unwelcome orders of the Government under pain of losing his position. Also the 'son', who is not backward with his bakhshîsh gets with ease all sorts of special favours, and here too the rich rule over the poor.

To confirm the admission of the new member, a little guild feast

is given to which all the guildsmen are invited by the candidate. The feast is called *me'allimiyyeh* (*me'allim* = master of any trade). Before the whole assembly the candidate says: "I ask our Sheikh for (leave to practise) the profession which is allowed by God": whereupon the Guildsmen reply: "Who is our Sheikh?" When he has mentioned the latter by name, the Guildmaster asks whether he will obey him and be a good guild-brother to his 'sons'. His affirmative answer is followed by the recitation of the '*fâtihah*' (opening chapter of the Qur'an) done in whispers and in the[13] attitude of prayer by all those present including perhaps some guests outside the guild. With this recitation a seal is put on almost all important resolutions, almost all prayer formulae at the holy places are closed, and all joyful news is welcomed: while tradesmen who cannot come to terms over the price of goods seek in the united recitation of the fâtihah new strength for a decision. So it is said of one who has a short time ago been admitted into a guild: "He has recited the fâtihah with the Sheikh", or: "a treat of coffee has been given for him". Because the chief of a guild is appointed by the Government and receives a mantle (*jubbah*) on that occasion, his appointment is denoted by the word "*libis*" i.e. he has put on (the mantle granted by the Government). In such a case the guild-brothers have no traditional claim to be entertained as they have when a new candidate is admitted. The sheikhs then enjoy with the new brother either a meal or coffee with sweetmeats, wish him God's blessing, and return home.

The obedience promised by the guild members extends only to business affairs, and even in these the members are not outside the jurisdiction of the common law. They know however that the Government authorities consult the Sheikh about all matters submitted directly to them, and that he will be annoyed if any attempt is made to pass him over. However the Sheikh well knows how to distinguish between those whom he must spare and those whose fate is indifferent to highly placed personages.

'*Mutatis mutandis*' what has been said above applies to all guilds in Mekka, and also to other corporations which are organised in

[13] I.e. with eyes raised aloft while the hands are lifted as though the worshipper was reading on the palms of his hands. At the end of the prayer he gently rubs his face with his hands.

like manner, e.g. those of *ulamâs* and *sèyyids*. We need not then dwell any longer on those other guilds, especially as most of them are engaged in the letting of lodgings or in the preparation or sale of articles of food or clothing or articles of luxury, and so display few local peculiarities. Besides the sellers of objects which are prepared in great quantities for pilgrims for export, as rosaries, combs etc., there come chiefly under our notice as peculiar to Mekka the Zemzemîs and the above mentioned *mekharrijîn* (camelbrokers) without whose help no townsman could make an agreement with the Beduins for camel transport. As the head must be shaved after each pilgrimage, and as each pilgrim generally sacrifices one or more sheep on the great pilgrimage, the barbers and butchers might be mentioned as extraordinarily numerous in Mekka.

Properly speaking the work of the pilgrim-sheikh should be confined to what is in the widest sense necessary for the pilgrimage. As we have seen however they try to extend their activities much further and to surround the pilgrims with a hedge, which can be opened only for certain payments. But in this wider field they cannot prevent other people from competing with them. If it gets abroad that a certain pilgrim has many hundreds of dollars to dispose of, then, however much his sheikh may warn him against officious intruders, and however many visitors the sheikh may drive off, yet one or another Mekkan always succeeds in obtaining admission so as to give the 'guest of God' a greeting or some other empty words and to track out the way to the milking of the newly-caught cow. These visitors with great skill and almost imperceptibly inform themselves of the circumstances and tastes of the objects of their attentions.

Does the pilgrim need money, having seen that in Mekka there are all sorts of pleasures to be enjoyed? His new friend, who in the meantime has found out whether he is of rich family, is ready to lend him money in Mekkan fashion; a good loan (*qarḍah hasanah*),[14] it is called here when the debtor signs an acknowledgment for double the real amount lent. Is the pilgrim inclined to marry? The visitor knows of suitable maidens, modest women, widows, quite unpretending, without mothers-in-law or other relations, who would just suit the stranger. Or would he like to buy a slave girl? No one is more intimate with the brokers than

[14] Properly speaking these words mean that no interest is paid.

the new acquaintance. Also he can get for him pilgrim substitutes who can win the heavenly reward of the Hajj for his dead relations if he is a Shafi'ite, or for his living ones if he is a Hanafite, and for this service will be content with a few gold pieces for themselves. He quickly however withdraws the last offer when he hears that the sheikh has put a sequester on the money which he has brought for such purposes: "rightly", says he, "that lies to some extent within his province, and the times are bad". For no consideration would he take the sheikh's bread out of his mouth, but to leave a friend (and are we not friends?) in unaccustomed surroundings without good advice is not good. The reader can easily imagine the further developments of such relations. There are also people who without being sheikhs, or interlopers, or sheikh's helpers, to the question what they are living on give some such answer to this: "Formerly I was a porter, (or pedlar or shoe-maker as the case may be); then however I had an opportunity to get into continually closer relations with Indians (or Turks, or Jâwah etc.), and so now all that I make is from the pilgrims of that country". This anonymous and uncontrolled guild is very widely extended, and amongst its members, just as among the sheikhs, one meets people of very various position and culture. Some of them help the illicit intercourse of pilgrims with women, the pander often offering his own wife or some female friends. This business however is generally carried on by old women, who, in spite of the 'harem' habits, are not shy about forcing their way unannounced into houses and then seeking patrons under pretext of a mistake or of a fictitious message. A respectable marriage broker is also called in joke a pimp (*qawwâd*), but not in his presence for it is an illsounding insult.

Lastly we may mention another important source of income which is open to almost all citizens of Mekka in the pilgrim season—the letting of lodgings. Mekka has no hotels, but, on the other hand, in the last months of the year every Meccan becomes an hotel-keeper whether he has a whole house, or only one storey or half a storey. It will now be convenient to say something about the arrangement of the houses in Mekka.

The material for the building of most of the houses is the stone from the mountains close by the town. The better houses are built of the Shemêsî stone from the Shemêsî Mountain near the Haram

boundary on the road to Jeddah. Over the roof-beams of the simpler houses are laid mats woven of palm leaves and the mats are overlaid with sand. The Stambulian and Syrian architects employed by the sherîfs and rich marchants use solider material, and lay all terraces, floors and staircases in a kind of cement (*tubtâb*); and, in the old-fashioned houses, which are now being transformed, the floors and terraces at least are treated in this way and the high irregular stairs of unhewn stones are being replaced by such as can be safely mounted. There is no uniform style of building, and it is difficult to say anything true in general of all the houses. The better architects conform to the individual whims of their high patrons; the smaller man must have regard for the scantiness of materials and for the irregular ground surface and form of the building spaces. We may therefore be excused if we call attention only to some rooms and apartments which are hardly ever wanting in the Mekkan dwelling however various its other arrangements may be.

On passing the housedoor we come into the hall (*dihlîz*) which, as we have said, has a floor either of sand or laid with cement (*tubtâb*). In small houses we find here a pair of wooden benches such as are seen in every coffeehouse.[15] Here the master of the house, whether he has at his disposal only the ground floor or also the first floor, receives passing and unexpected visitors. There may be off the hall on either or both sides, a few small rooms, and, to meet the case of floods, the floor of these is on a higher level than that of the hall. These rooms are called *maqaad* (pl. *maqâ'id*), and serve as business offices, or for the reception *en petit comité* of intimate acquaintances, or occasionally as sleeping rooms, or, like a part of the hall itself, as storing places for merchandise or luggage. In many houses of the better class the hall is quite imposing. The back part to which one mounts by some steps is laid with carpets, and by the walls are set bolsters and cushions for sitting or reclining. It is a new fashion to put these bolsters along the whole of the walls on wooden benches (*karâwît*) disguised by hanging upholstery. This divan serves for all ordinary receptions, and also the men take their meals here when they have unexpected guests or

[15] The coffeehouses are all in the open street, covered with awnings. The whole inventory with which the coffeehouse keeper (*meqahwî*) does his business, consists of the coffee kettle, some cups, some jars full of fresh water, and some metal cups and hubble-bubbles.

friends staying in the house. This divan, with the adjoining rooms, suffices for the honourable reception of the most highly considered guests, and they need never set foot in the upper stories of the house. The adjoining rooms are arranged for all sorts of purposes; one will be a library or writing room; another accommodates a small circle of friends who wish to chat together undisturbed by the sometimes great noise of business that goes on in the hall. Moreover this floor like every floor of a respectable house has its privy (*bêt èl-mâ* = water closet, or in vulgar parlance *tahârah*), which is fitted up also as a bath room, and which contains a large earthen vessel (*zîr*) with water for all the needs of that storey of the house.

A small wall generally serves to mitigate the unpleasant impression of this combination. Behind this wall is the latrine proper consisting of a seat raised about one decimetre above the ground and divided in the middle by a wide split over which the man crouches to satisfy the wants of nature. In a small jug (*ibrîq*) he brings with him water for the first purification (*istinjâ*); the other great and small ablutions required by ritual, or only for refreshing purposes, are performed in the other part of the latrine space. For the great ablution one drains the water out of the great earthen jar with the metal bowl (*mughrâf*) found on its wooden lid and pours it over one's naked body. With the same cup one fills the clay jars of drinking water, the washing tubs, and the kitchen utensils, and the house servants may drink out of the cups themselves. The floor sinks in different directions so that the water running down may find its way into the pipes that pass out from the wall. We may now take leave of the place in which the name of God may not be uttered, and in which, besides cockroaches all sorts of invisible evil spirits dwell, against which the pious man protects himself by pronouncing as he enters the formula: (Qur'an 37:77) "Peace be upon Nûh (Noah) in the worlds".

On the ground floor are found occasionally large rooms which are entirely shut off from the entrance hall and take the place of the divan. Rich people often construct a stone reservoir (*birkah*) in the floor of such rooms into which some hundreds of skins of water are poured to cool the immediate neighbourhood. Into other occasional modifications of the arrangements we need not enter. Where the back wall of the house is not joined to other houses, a back door gives access to a courtyard which is surrounded on all sides by small dwellings and is connected with the main street by a narrow lane.

On the ground floor we never run the risk of meeting unexpectedly women. Now and then it is true veiled figures pass through without stopping but this need give no anxiety. It is otherwise on the stairs and the upper stories: if the house is occupied by one family one cannot go up without the permission of the porter and the escort of someone belonging to the house. In this 'great city' of the Arabs, however, most of the citizens occupy only one storey or half a storey of the three- or four-storied houses. In these, respectable people may with some precaution go upstairs to see their acquaintances. One should take one's steps very warily, and call out every moment on the Almighty by some name that contains a clear allusion, e.g. "*Yâ Sattâr* ('O Concealer' i.e. 'of our sins') so that women who are passing unveiled from one room into another may cover themselves or get out of the way. When near the storey on which one wishes to pay the visit, one should call on the name of the occupier, and, if no women thereupon clap their hands negatively, one goes on further, and then the man soon comes.

On the stairs we sometimes pass doors, behind which there are great cupboards or store rooms which get light from the courtyard, or small kitchens, and all these belong to the next storey above. The number and size of apartments on a storey, besides the indispensable watercloset, vary much. In many of the better houses one storey is like another, but often, as we go up, the surface space of the stories diminishes either in order that the necessary terraces may be provided or because building has been stopped for want of money. Of the second storey for instance one quarter of the ground surface will be taken for terraces so that this quarter is entirely lost to the third storey. Thess terraces[16] are in some ways the most private part of the house, not only because on them all sorts of work, as for instance the hanging up of clothes to dry, is done by the women, but especially because after sunset the master of the house and his family enjoy the comparative coolness there, and they also serve as sleeping rooms during the hottest part of the year. For this reason the terraces have walls of their own, generally of brick, to hinder the gaze of rude strangers, with a space between

[16] The single terrace is called as well by the plural *sutûh* as by the singular *sath*. Such terraces under which there is only empty space, and which serve only for sitting in the open air are called *khârijah*.

each two bricks to let the air through. And so care is taken that for instance every married couple in a house may have their own terrace for themselves and the children, or, where several such couples must share a terrace, it may at least be divided into separate parts by hangings or partitions. With this view a small low room (called *mebît* or night room) is often built on such terraces to receive the nuptial bed. The young men and slaves find some comfortable place to sleep on the terrace or, like all the poorer people lay themselves down on a bench before the door or in a coffee house.

Though the Mekkans during the cool season do not all sleep in the open, yet very few of them have specially allotted sleeping rooms. Such rooms are indeed not needed. They wash in the latrine apartment. They sleep in the same clothes in which they stand, after the *jubbah* and *antari*, or *shâyah* (long over-robes) which are inconvenient in the house, have been put off, and a bed can be quickly laid anywhere that is convenient. The places where there is some draught of air are specially sought for that purpose. Many simply lie down on the mattresses (*turrâhât*), bolsters (*masânid*) or pillows (*mekhaddât*) that are to be found in every room. Much time is also spent in sleep during the heat of the day, when a man will sleep whenever he feels inclined or has an opportunity, while the cooler night is often given up partly or wholly to cheerful social intercourse.

In the front towards the street each storey has its 'salon' (*mèjlis* = sitting room) with several windows, behind which are always window seats furnished with mattresses and pillows. The middle windows have balconies[17] projecting over the street. All are closed with wooden shutters (*shubbâk*) with little holes in them, through which no one can see into the room. Single small boards of the shutters can be raised or let down and are fastened with little hooks. Where a whole window is opened, a gaily coloured curtain formed of thin little sticks set together as a mat is generally hung up. The floor or the benches (*krâwît*) built along the wall are fitted up in the same way as those above described as forming the divan on the ground floor. Between the carpets and the floor mats of palm leaves are laid, as, otherwise, the costly carpets would quickly be spoilt.

To enter the sitting room one generally must pass through a

[17] The balcony is called *rôshân*. The single casement with the wooden shutter is called *tâqah* (plural *tiyaq* or *tîqân*). This latter word denotes also the boards along the wall in the room on which are generally placed china, glass and earthenware.

smaller room of the same breadth, which serves as an ante-chamber to the sitting room; this room is called *suffah*. Here unexpected visitors may be received, if, for instance, the sitting room is occupied by women; otherwise, here, when, for instance, great dinners are given, the guests who are to wait on the others (called *mebâshirîn*) betake themselves. On both sides of the sitting room and of the 'suffah', there are, when there is enough space, besides the little wall-cupboards, closets, storerooms, and large cupboards. The commonest name for these annexes is *khazânah*, but when they are used as kitchens[18] they are also called *matbakh*. Into the *khazânah* goes a wife who has been in the sitting room with her husband when the latter wishes to receive a visitor who has been announced. If there is no light in the *khazânah*, the banished woman can find on the other side a door through which she can pass.

Only in the case of an establishment on a great scale is there a question of several sitting rooms; of the various remaining rooms, in the distribution of which no rule is observed, we may also mention the smaller sitting room which lies on the side of the courtyard or of the back street and is called *me'akhkhar*.

When several families share one storey, the families themselves must make the necessary separations by curtains, wooden partitions, and so forth. In any case, one must in many things trust to the honour of one's fellow-lodgers. It must be added that, according to the good prevailing custom, neighbours are bound to help one another on every occasion, as for instance by lending rooms, utensils, and even clothing; and so we can understand how especially in Mekka the proverb holds good: *al-jâr qabl ad-dâr*: 'Ask first about the neighbour, then about the house'. Fellow-lodgers who misbehave themselves give a lodger the right to break his contract with the landlord. But there are permanent lodgers who leave no one unmolested: cats, lizards, ants, doves (the doves are daily guests), and as rare visitors, serpents. The lizards being accursed by Muhammed we may at least kill. The other species multiply under the protection of the law, much more scrupulously obeyed in regard to them than in regard to human beings, which forbids the killing of

[18] The kitchen proper, i.e. a stone oven with various oven-holes, is generally situated on a roof terrace.

living creatures in the holy territory except butcher's animals and some noxious beasts. Even before Islam the doves were numerous here. Towards cats Muhammed is said in the traditions to have expressed himself very favourably. Both species are in the holy territory without fear of man: doors and windows being continually open, and the airholes above the windows being never closed, it may be imagined what anxiety these animals give the lady of the house.

The further the quarter of the town is distant from the main streets, the oftener do we meet the poorer one-storied class of houses, and these, in the suburbs, gradually pass into mere huts (*'ushshahs*). Beggars and other homeless ones find some favourite place to lie down and sleep, by preference in the mosque, where others also spend the night for some such reason as that they are seeking a dream revelation there or that they have some unpleasantness at home. Poor and stingy pilgrims also choose a place for their night's rest in the open; most of these however get shelter in some house for themselves and their bagage.

The smallest gain that a Mekkan can get out of the pilgrimage is to get back the whole rent for his dwelling place in the rent which he receives from pilgrims for a part of it. And so in Mekka the rent is taken as for a whole year whether the contract is made in the beginning or the middle of the year or even only one month before the Hajj. To the house-owner it is quite indifferent whether he gets the rent from natives or from strangers, and from the latter he easily gets rather more. If he is still glad to let his house to respectable citizens of Mekka, this is because he thus escapes much trouble and also all anxiety until the end of the year. If a man occupies his own house, still he gets during the last three months of the year as much for the room that he can let as he would have got by letting the whole house in Muharram (the first month of the year). Even those who have to be content with half a storey know how to manage so as to give hospitality to a few guests: if the pilgrims do not remain too long before and after the Hajj it is all the better, for they spend a considerable part of their stay in the mosque or elsewhere outside the house. The house is only a place of refuge for them, but while they are in it the family of the lessor have to be content with small corners of it.

It is by no means a matter of indifference to them what kind of pilgrims they put up. They are indeed not afraid of being bilked of the rent, for such rascals seldom come on Hajj, but they would

like to make a little money beyond the rent, and, except the sheikh, no one has a better opportunity to exploit the pilgrim than his landlord. He is therefore glad to let his lodgings to friends or countrymen of those former customers of whose opulence and liberality he has experience: and also on other grounds he prefers lodgers of this or that nation, Turks for their cleanliness, Jâwah for their unpretending nature. For his own interests he surrounds the pilgrim with a second fence round the one set by the sheikh, so that no exploiters of the third class, the anonymous guild spoken of above, may without permission enter. But these last mentioned officious persons have still a large field open to them; not to mention independent pilgrims who make a way for themselves through the double fence, there are many who, without the supervision that has been described, squat in empty houses. In one roomy apartment twenty Jâwah are accommodated who cook, eat and sleep there! Other dwellers in the house seldom raise any opposition in the last month of the year to such uncomfortable crowding; without mutual concession no one could get any profit. Also smaller companies, especially if they include women, like to have their own housekeeping independent of the landlord, and in such cases invitations, presents and other attentions pass between the landlord and lodgers. Moreover the relations of the guests of Allah with their sheikhs, hosts, and the freebooters naturally take different forms under the influence of various personal peculiarities, of greater or less experience in intercourse with Mekkans in former pilgrimages and so forth.

A trick often practised by Mekkans as hosts is to show strangers in search of a lodging a pair of rooms which to the unpractised eye seem very good, but which are at certain times of the day or year uninhabitable or absolutely require the addition of a roof-terrace for the night. The pilgrim finds the price very cheap, and engages the rooms; as soon as their inconveniences appear, the landlord says he might if absolutely necessary give his guest another room or even a terrace but would be obliged in that case to double or even treble the price.

As the sheikhs '*cum suis*' at once from the moment of his arrival lead the stranger by the nose, they have great influence in the choice of a lodging: all Mekkans therefore are interested in getting on good terms with several sheikhs, as on the other hand the latter set great store on extensive connections among the public.

We see how in Mekka the whole social life finds its central point in the Hajj. Nowhere has the Moslim calendar with its lunar year greater practical significance than here. The solar year is remembered only in relation to the slight change in temperature: one speaks also of the time when dates, figs, peaches and so forth ripen, and in cultivated circles the seasons are denoted according to the signs of the zodiac: on these matters the astronomer of the holy place, called the *Rèyyis*, imparts information to his inquisitive friends. To complete our insight into the social relations and activities of the Mekkans, we will now look through the lunar calender and linger a moment at each noteworthy point.

Of the first month 'Muharram' we can quickly give an account. The feverish excitement which in the past pilgrimage month attained its acme now gradually subsides. Many pilgrims have already left Jeddah in the steamers, and every week the sheikhs consign some to that port. Brokers and other go-betweens are now here making a little more money by their efforts in the interest of the steamship companies. Others who remain on in Mekka for study or pleasure have now just taken their permanent lodgings, and begun to settle down to the new mode of life. The elements of Mekkan society, scattered for many weeks past, are now gradually again meeting together. Not all however can give themselves up to repose and recreation: there are merchants going on business journeys, and the same is being done by the pilgrim agents who make their way into the most distant lands, charged by the sheikhs to make every effort to enlist abroad pilgrims for the next pilgrimage.

Many thousands of Mekkans however do not travel in their whole lives further than Taif and Medina: they even go unwillingly to Jeddah, for from their childhood the thought that is most terrifying to them is that of coming in contact with unbelievers. From their mothers and other womenkind they have learnt that the *kafirs* (unbelievers) are horrible monsters: their pale complexion gives the impression of the leprosy: they cannot look up to Heaven, and so seldom walk with an upright carriage, and they have to shade their eyes with their great hat-brims; men and women sit shamelessly together, and quaff wine: they are unclean, for they enter rooms with their dirty shoes, and do not know how to purify themselves, as is seemly, after going to stool or after copulation: they are of coarse manners, for they laugh loud like hyenas, and speak all at once with violent gestures even when they are not yet drunk.

They have no religion, and therefore get from Allah much pleasure and greatness in this world and a painless death which always befalls on a Sabbath, so that they may therefore be the more fiercely tormented in Hell. On account of these and similar traditions against which the objections of well-informed persons are of no avail, the young Mekkans (those of Medina in a still higher degree), shrink from meeting with unbelievers as they would from meeting with ghosts. Several who in 1885 had for the first time travelled to Jeddah to get to Medina by sea described to me their sensations just as a sentimental European might who had for the first time seen a madman or plague-stricken man. What they hear from their travelled fellow citizens does not enlighten them, but only increases their perplexity, for it is for the most part only anecdotes or stories which bring out in relief the godless ways of Europeans and their ignorance in religious matters.

Thus there are many who thank God for having protected them from such terror and contamination of the eye; and with many others some passing contact has produced a few new prejudices in the place of each one that it has removed. For this no doubt the Europeans are themselves in part to blame, for they by no means penetrate into the thoughts and ways of the Muhammedans and are, at the same time, at every step treading on the toes of these carefully reserved people.

We have said enough of this. We need only remark that many remain at home after the Hajj in order to consume in the pleasures of life and in traditional fashion the money that they have earned. Gay is the nature of the Mekkan, and, if during the pilgrimage time, he has his mouth full of holy traditions, this is neither hypocrisy nor the result of an inward overmastering impulse, but simply the performance of a duty which according to his view is laid upon him by his citizenship and his office. Just as a prosperous man can quite sincerely evince his sympathy with one who is smitten with misfortune, so the Mekkan seeks with naive zeal to regale his brother in the faith to some extent with the holy things with which he himself is perhaps already sated. After his year's work ended he yearns in this relaxing climate for comfortable enjoyment. This is afforded to him first by his house where the Moslim enjoys the company of his children and exhausts his sexual powers with ever increasing passion, and next by the houses of his friends where every joyful event and even death gives occasion for dinner

parties (*ʿazîmah*) at which he must not fail to appear: further there are the social meetings or picnics (*qêlah*) in town and country which he arranges in company with his acquaintances; and lastly the days on which all Mekka is *en fête*, which days are the more appreciated as the Mekkans take part in the great international feast of Islam in their town more as servants than as hosts.

As every Moslim date passes through the whole circle of seasons in about thirty three years we can give no place in the calendar to the change in Mekkan life when well-to-do people during the hottest time of the year migrate two days eastward to Taif, where the air is so cool and the neighbouring gardens so beautiful that the Mekkan tradition says, God to please 'His neighbours' has transplanted this piece of land from Syria to Arabia. If the Hajj falls in that time of year, this pleasure is lost to the Mekkans: if on the other hand the heat reaches its highest point in the month of Ramadhan, the Mekkans then have a double advantage, for thirst, the worst hardship of the fasters, is not a serious matter in Taif. He who has no house there is taken in by a friend to whom he can at every moment render reciprocal services in Mekka. Let us now return to the calendar.

In Muharram Mekka after a long feverish dream returns to consciousness. Not only in family life, but in the mosque, are the consequences soon noticeable. On the 10th of the month, called the ʿAshûrâ day, which is treated universally as a voluntary fast day but by the *Shiʿites* with special ceremonies as the day of Martyrdom of Husein, the Kaabah is opened to the public.[19] On that day Mekka is still quite a foreigners' town.[20] None of the pilgrims who are now preparing for the homeward journey fails to appear under the steps which the eunuchs set up before the treshold, and even for a few days afterwards all day long dense crowds of men and women fill a wide space round the Holy House so that they

[19] See note p. 21 above. To enter the Kaabah in which there is nothing to see but a pair of hanging lamps is neither a part of the Hajj nor of any religions ceremonial of the Moslims. Most strangers on the spot take every opportunity to perform a prayer inside the House of God, which many Mekkans enter only once in their lives or not at all.

[20] In Mekka the Persians perform their sectarian Muharram festival quite secretly. In Jeddah since the last Russo-Turkish War the celebration is freely allowed them, and they meet for it during the first ten days of the month in a house into which a stranger also can easily obtain entrance. In October 1884 I attended the Husain lamentation with its dirges and sermons. The Turkish Governor, at the invitation of the Persian Consul, attended on the 10th day of the heretical ceremonies, and not only drank sherbet but also wept piously.

may take home with them the merit of as many circumambulations (*tawâfs*) as possible. Gradually the ring of people round the Kaabah becomes narrower so that the citizens of Mekka get an opportunity to take up comfortable positions in the mosque courtyard and surrounding porticoes. The lectures in holy lore which during the pilgrimage harvest time have been entirely stopped are now recommenced: also small gatherings of the 'brethren' of this or that mystic association again, after certain prescribed prayers, take their old fixed places for common chanting. In the *Masaa* street where for weeks together one could hardly pass for the swarms of pilgrims passing to and for between Safâ and Merwah[21] there now moves along a quiet mass of humanity making their purchases in the many booths here and in the neighbouring markets of *Suwêqah* aud *Sûq el-Lêl*.

In the course of this or the next month the general tranquillity is again interrupted by the return of the second pilgrim caravan[22] from Medina. Pilgrims who have not arrived in time in Mekka to join the first caravan before the Hajj, perform the journey to 'visit' the tomb of the Prophet in the second caravan with an escort of Turkish soldiers as soon as the road has been pronounced safe by the Government authorities. With this caravan's return and with the business of sending the returned pilgrims on their further journey all guilds are again more or less occupied, while the pilgrims before their homeward journey from Mekka are giving all their attention to the prescribed ceremonies and to various purchases.

Soon after the beginning of the second month, Safar, the Mekkans prepare to take part in one of the most popular local feasts. On the twelfth of the month is the feast of 'Our Lady *Mêmûnah*'. This saint was one of the wives of the Prophet, and, what can be said of but few saints of that time, her tomb is already by the old tradition located there where now her festival is still yearly celebrated. The spot lies on the road to Medina, half a day's journey northwestward from Mekka, and known simply by the name 'Our Lady Mêmûnah'. It was originally called *Sarif*, and afterwards *En-Nawwâriyyeh*.

What is really meant by a saint's day is not clearly understood

---

[21] The two hills between which pilgrims have to walk (*sa'y*) in a prescribed manner.

[22] *Qâfilah* is the name given to both of those caravans consisting of camels charged with *shuqdufs* and their inmates and luggage, and some asses. Caravans of riding camels are called *rakb*.

by the people. People say indeed it is the *haul*, which properly speaking is the anniversary of death. But there are saints with several days (*hauls*) in the year, the date of death of most saints is doubtful, and from the way in which many saints' feasts are kept it is safe to conclude that old heathenish popular festivals, after elimination of some specific heathenish usages, have adorned themselves with the saint's name so as to preserve their threatened existence.

Already a week before 'Sittana Mêmûnah' friends and acquaintances meet and make up parties for the visit to her tomb: such a party is called *bashka*. Each *bashka* has a treasurer, to whom all the members give a few dollars, and who for the money has to provide everything for the outing. This treasurer (called *qayyûm*) hires or borrows tents, beds, and carpets, camels, cooking and eating utensils; the other members of the party have to think only of their clothing, their pipes, and the preparation of some dishes to be brought ready cooked with them, for, besides meat and some fruit, they do not find much at the tomb of Mêmûnah, as here there is no important settlement.

But few women take part in this festival. The men often put on a different costume from that which they are accustomed to wear in the town. The turban is replaced by the Beduin headgear (*semâdah*) with the snakelike encircling bands (*'aqâl*), and over the little jacket (*saltah*) the long mantle of woven camel-hair (*'abâyah*) is thrown, which is worn by Beduins of the better class, and in the cold season also by middle class Mekkans. On the eleventh they start on their journey and in the evening, after they have pitched their tents, they visit the tomb which according to tradition is on the very spot where once Mêmûnah passed her bridal night in a tent with the Prophet.

Very simple is the religious part of such visits; as at the saint's tombs in Maalâ one recites here the usual formulae of greeting; ("Hail to ye people of the tombs", or "Our Lady Mêmûnah!" and so forth); and one also recites the *fât'hah*[23] and prayers which may contain allusions to the life history of the Lady dear to God, but

[23] According to the orthodox conception this recitation of the first chapter of the Qur'an, which is always very meritorious, should benefit the inmate of the tomb, for the visitor bestows on him the merit of his recitation, while the visitor intends thereby to win the friendship and help of the saint; the vulgar however do not look so far and know only that one should recite the fât'hah at the saint's tomb.

which also bring out the special wishes of the worshipper; these prayers are by the great mass of the people considered the most effectual, for they believe that their interests are thereby entrusted to a being of sensations like their own, who they think will leave God Almighty no peace until He grants the saint's friend his wish. Several persons then who are in some trouble pass half the night in confidential communication with the dead wife of the Prophet, while the majority after a short prayer return at once to their tents, where they amuse themselves in various ways.

Only a few pass the time here in religious exercises, perform chants (*dhikr*) in the night, or listen by day or night to the recitation of "*môlids*" (biographies of the Prophet in verse or rhymed prose) or other pious histories. For quite other purposes the young citizens of the great town come here. They come to brace their nerves by taking in a good supply of fresh desert air, and also to satisfy the passions which have long been seeking a vent. After enjoying their favourite dishes, as for instance the meat balls called *mabshûr* and the pieces of roast meat with rice and condiments called *salât*, they seek at the tomb of Our Lady Mêmûnah for delights forbidden by Islam. That they should on this spot read out profane anecdotes and sing wordly ballads, as is their custom, is not quite regular, but much worse is their habitual accompaniment of song with musical instruments: especially the *qabûs*, a four-stringed instrument which much resembles the *kemènjeh*, only that its strings are of gut instead of horsehair, and also the well known *qânûn* (guiṯar). It can pass as comparatively decent if those present under cover of handclapping sing to this music short, mostly erotic, ditties; but the *jeunesse dorée* requires besides beautiful beardless boys clad in half feminine dress to excite by song and dance those passions which in Arabic are called after the prophet Lot. Often on such occasions have jealous paederasts fought here so violently for the objects of their affections that some have been left dead on the spot, and, for this reason especially strong guards of police are now on saints' days sent to keep order at their tombs.

No wonder then that the ulamâ, in spite of their zeal for the cult of the saints, are by no means in favour of these gatherings and only allow young men to take part in them when they can form a *bashka* (excursion party) with persons whose piety is above suspicion. In any case even for the pious the anniversary is by no means one of mourning, though it is celebrated at a tomb. All

thoughts of death are far from the "visitors" on such occasions: the tomb of the saint is for them as his house where he from time to time gives audience.

On the road from Mekka to Our Lady Mêmûnah lie, at distances respectively of one hour and an hour and a half from Mekka, Es-Shuhadâ (the place of Martyrs) and Tanʿîm, which is generally called *al-ʿUmrah* because the Mekkans and their guests go there to put on pilgrim clothes for a little pilgrimage (which little pilgrimage is called ʿUmrah—see above, page 25). The 'Place of Martyrs' became such through a rising of the sectaries of Ali in the year 786 (AD) at this spot at the foot of the Mountain al-Fakhkh. The Shiʿite saint Husain ibn Ali, who came from Yambo, lies buried here with his comrades. Only it seems that before these heroes fell in battle there was here the tomb of one or another honoured companion of Muhammed, and in the recollection of the Mekkans of to day Abdallah, son of the Caliph Omar lives as the special saint of this place Es Shuhadâ. His day or *haul* is fixed, in as arbitrary a fashion as the others, on the 14th Safar: those who are returning from Sittanâ (Our Lady) Mêmûnah thus come upon Es-Shuhadâ at the right time.

Many Mekkans have here their summer residences. The air and water of the place are considered specially healthy, so that Mekkans of the higher class get their drinking water every day from Es-Shuhadâ. On the evening of the anniversary, (or according to our reckoning on the evening before it), here, as elsewhere on such occasions, the keeper of the tomb or some skilled reciter recounts the life of the saint; the lives of saints are generally composed in a lofty style, and their most important contents are the tale of the noble deeds and qualities (*menâqib*) of the holy patron (*wali*). The chief object of most of the visitors is here the same merry-making as at Sittana Mêmûnah. The amusements at Es-Shuhadâ last a whole week.

On the last Wednesday of the month Safar the faithful should be in a sorrowful mood. As to the reason for this there is a great difference of opinions. The idea is however fairly wide-spread that this month is pregnant with all sorts of mischief of which it is actually delivered on the last[24] Wednesday. He who goes through

[24] Among the Moslims of India this idea is connected with the last illness of Muhammed which began in this month. (Herklots, 'Customs of the Mussulmans in India', 2nd ed. p. 149 sq.).

this day without mischance can meet the rest of the year full of hope. This is a sufficient ground for pious persons to spend as much as possible of the day and night in prayer. Probably herein is some Moslim version of heathen usages. At any rate the populace has no practical knowledge of the gloomy conceptions of the learned; on the contrary men and women spend the last Wednesday in riding, picknick and other pleasure parties. Though almost all those who take part in the above mentioned festivals are Mekkans, nevertheless the life of the town runs its usual course on those days.

It is otherwise on the great feast day of the third month, the 12th day of Rabîʿ al-awwal. According to the received tradition the Prophet died on that day, and his birthday has been arbitrarily transferred to the same date. For some days beforehand several professors have already introduced this *Môlid* (birthday feast) by reading from a biography of Muhammed instead of continuing their usual course of lectures. In the afternoon of the eleventh the approach of the evening of the feast day is announced by cannon firing. For the sunset prayer with which the twelfth day of the month begins the faithful assemble in unusual numbers. The Mekkan women particularly come now in festal dress, whereas on other occasions three fourths of the women who perform prayer in the mosque belong to the foreign colonies. More striking to the eye than the veiled costly adornments of the women are the children's clothes, many-coloured and glittering with gold and silver. These children come with their mothers into the mosque. Over the whole courtyard of the mosque, especially in the neighbourhood of the space reserved for women, the boys and girls make a profane noise with the little chains hung all over them on which are many rattling amulets. Many of the devout are much annoyed by this noise during the prayer. On the way to the mosque the market streets are seen full of festive animation: especially the booths of the sugar-bakers are since noon always newly stocked with fresh wares, some of which pertain specially to the feast. The youth of Mekka thus enter the sacred building well provided with a store of dainties.

After the close of the double prayer (on this occasion, as always, the evening prayer is led first by an Imam of the Hanafite and then by an Imam of the Shafiʿite rite, there being no time for Imams of other rites) the glass oil-lamps of the mosque are lit in greater numbers than usual, and the multitude lingers another half

ʿALÎ RÈYYIS,
A MEMBER OF A FAMILY OF CHIEF MUʾADDHINS

hour in constant movement so that people may greet their friends and show off their dresses. Only a small part of the assembly see what is going on in the Northwest part of the hall of columns near the *Bâb Derêbah*. On a wooden stand an Imam in the service of the mosque has placed himself, whose charge is to recite the 'Môlid' (history of the Prophet). His back is turned towards the Kaabah so that the hearers standing or sitting opposite to him may direct their gaze towards that holy object. In the places of honour sit the Grand Sherîf and the Turkish Governor (Wali) with their suites, unless political circumstances prevent them from meeting in a friendly way. All the mosque servants sit around and are regaled with coffee and sweetmeats. The holy stories read out on such occasions are popularly but wrongly called[25] *khutbahs* (sermons), for such sermons are preached only on Fridays, the two official feast days (*'îd's*) and a few special occasions. The laity however consider only the outward resemblance, for of those discourses they but seldom hear and very seldom indeed understand anything. Likewise they denote the two commemorative days (12 Rabî' al-awwal and 27 Rèjèb) with the same name as the official feast days (*'îd*).

As soon as the recitation is ended there is a great stir all over the holy place. All want to see the Sherîf and men of the Government and the servants of the mosque marching in solemn procession lit up by many torches through the streets *Qushâshiyye* and *Sûq èl-Lêl* to the domed building (*qubbah*) in the ravine street (*Shi'b*) where the Prophet first saw the light. In the town chronicles we read how more than 300 years ago the feast was celebrated in like manner, and how certain rigorists declared themselves against it, because this procession and the unsupervised concourse of so many women out of doors excited rather immorality than pious thoughts. In this respect things have by no means changed.

Ahead of the procession marches the *Rèyyis* (chief of the mu'addhins and also mosque astronomer) singing with a loud voice an ode in praise of the Prophet. On reaching the birth place all enter; inside there is another biographical recitation followed by a prayer in common. All passes quickly enough, for about two hours after sunset, all those here assembled must be back again in the mosque

[25] By a similar error the calling out of certain formulae on the Arafat Plain is called a 'preaching', into which error Burckhardt has fallen when he says 'a sermon is an essential part of the Hajj', which is true neither in theory nor in practice.

for another prayer, namely, the regular evening prayer. During the night social gatherings go on of men and women (the sexes kept apart), and the coffee houses do a brisk trade; but the learned and pious find edification in friendly circles in the mutual recitation of the *Burdah*, the *Hamziyyah* and other songs of praise, and the mystic brethren howl their hypnotising chants (*dhikr*) in praise of the Prophet.

In this and the two following months (Rabîʿ al-âkhir and Jumâda al-awwal) family life in Mekka is extremely lively. Just this quarter of the year which on religious grounds is recommended for marriage, is in Mekka specially suited for that purpose, for business pre-occupations have ceased. With no less zeal than in the exploitation of pilgrims in the latter part of the year, do the 'neighbours of God' now work in preparation for the many and brilliant marriage-feasts. It is as though the prosperous wish to get rid of the money they have won; the needy also make something in it; and both equally enjoy themselves. In the next chapter we will describe these matters.

The sixth month (Jumâda al-âkhir) is joyfully looked forward to by the daughters of the Mekkans and still more by their wives. The husbands recollect with some uneasiness that on the 15th of the month the holy *Sheikh Mahmûd*, son of that holy saint *Ibrâhîm al-Adham*, who is so celebrated in the East-Indian popular religious literature, has his anniversary. His tomb, or at least the domed building dedicated to him lies just at the spot where travellers for Jeddah from the upper and lower quarters of the town meet. To this spot, only half an hour distant from the centre of Mekka, friends accompany travellers for Jeddah to see them off. Every one coming to this spot stops, and recites at least one *fât'hah* (first chapter of the Qur'an) in honour of the Sheikh. This custom is observed at many other spots, but so regularly only at this tomb of Sheikh Mahmûd and at places dedicated to so generally honoured saints. The tomb may be reckoned part of the town, as between it and the town proper lie small houses and Beduin huts (the Jirwal quarter inhabited by camel-brokers).

Now, just as the men have monopolized our Lady Mêmûnah and the Shuhadâ, so has allpowerful tradition decreed that this patron of the Western town border should belong almost exclusively to the women. It is true that pious men go to the Sheikh Mahmûd

on the evening of, that is the evening before, his anniversary to hear the recitation of his merits and lay before him their troubles. But on the day the women prepare for the visit (to the tomb), and for about three days they occupy the entire precincts.

Without permission of their husbands these ladies cannot indulge in this pleasure, but the husband knows well how unpleasant his life will be for a long time if by gainsaying his wife in this matter he exposes her to the mockery or compassion of other women. Also she knows how to make it clear to him that her toilet needs to be somewhat bettered before the feast, and that her own funds do not suffice for the three days picknicking (for this and nothing else is the real meaning of the three days visit to the tomb). So the sons of Adam give way, and the Mekkan women regard it as their traditional right to amuse themselves for some time after their fashion in honour of Sheikh Mahmûd.

During this women's festival the Beduins in the neighbourhood of the Jirwal quarter make a profit for themselves just as the Mekkans do at the time of the Hajj. They arrange that some of their huts be put at the disposal of the ladies for a rent or for some small presents. Well-to-do Mekkans generally have business friends among the camel-brokers; their wives are then invited by those half-Beduin camel-brokers to pass the first days with their female friends in their houses. Quite a couple of dozen Mekkan ladies are entertained in one of these houses. On the first day the mistress of the house holds a *Diyâfah* (invitation), that is, she invites all her known and unknown guests to a meal in return for which the latter present her with tumbâk (a sort of tobacco) for the hubble-bubbles, coffee, and so forth. On the other days they and their people are entertained by their guests, who have brought with them, besides beds and carpets, eating and smoking gear and choice dishes prepared at home. Anything that is still wanting can at that short distance be easily brought from the town by the servants who have come with them. All bring out for these meals the whole contents of their pots and kettles, which they enjoy together picknickwise.

For the rest the ladies during this feast regale themselves with the song of professional singers, often slave girls who have been brought up for this by their mistresses. They accompany the song with a *tablah* (drum) made of the same sort of clay as the Mekkan water vessels and with *târs* (tambourines). The matter of the poems

that are sung is almost always erotic, but they have been so garbled by defective tradition that it is vain to attempt to make out a meaning otherwise than by free interpolation. We will treat this question in somewhat more detail when we come to deal with the marriage-feast. The ladies are especially amused when the singers from time to time substitute for the conventional amatory effusions some of the much less high flying popular poetry. In these natural productions the rhyme can hardly be said to be treated with respect, while the metre is often put aside altogether and replaced by the more easily handled rhymed prose. He who does not know the genesis of such ditties can make little of them, and, even with that knowledge, one finds in them, it is true, comic allusions to recents events and laughter provoking situations, but seldom an unambiguous meaning. Hence it is easy for each new transmitter to add or change something so that the song may always excite new comic thoughts in the hearers. Some of the songs appear to be designed only to give expression by meaningless trills to certain emotions.

When the Wali (Turkish Governor) visited Jeddah in 1885 this is the song that was made about him and his suite: "I love Belâmîtah, Oh! give me Belâmîtah" (I never found anyone who knew the meaning of this word) "The Wali has *Kêlîtah*" (a disease of the testicles). "Drive him out". To the same tune the woman who is soon to take part in a marriage feast sings: "The henna" (red dye for the hands and feet of the bride) "is in the cupboard. The bridegroom is at the door. Raise the trilling cry" (*zaghârît* as it is called in Egypt — the well known looloolooing of the women) — "Oh my mother", and with the following words a certain turn is given to the thoughts: "I love the mosquito curtain (*nâmûsiyyeh*); to lie under the mosquito curtain; we kiss thee, oh Mûsiyyeh! every night once".

In August 1885 the people of Jeddah, and later also those of Mekka, were attacked by a peculiar fever that generally passed away without dangerous results but was accompanied with violent pains in the back and arms and sometimes legs. Naturally some songs were devoted to the enemy who had laid low the innocent townsmen one after another for some days. This enemy was soon dubbed Muhammed of Baghdad, and afterwards Muhammed "Ghandûr", which means "swell" or "dandy"; and the people sang a jingling distich (*Muhammed al-Baghdâdi yimsik az-zahr wal-ayâdî* ("Mu-

hammed the Baghdadi catches us in back and arms") or "Muhammed the Ghandûr brings neither enmity nor harm". In another ditty this uninvited guest is mentioned with the Moroccan pilgrims who just then were coming in great numbers into the Holy City.

"Muhammed the Ghandûr has come in a glass case from Stam-"bul. He came along the Nûriyyeh quarter" (a quarter in the town of Jeddah). "A Berber woman came to meet him and went along "with him in a procession as of Qâdirite dervishes. This is the year "of the Moroccan pilgrimage, a pilgrimage pleasing to God and successful. "Let not him" (the Ghandûr speaks) "to whom I have not "yet come think I have forgotten him. I am sitting on the water jar "in the watercloset until I have time to come to him. He who is not "pleased with me let him send for my sister Haniyyeh (Agreeable); "she will make up a shroud for him and will bring *lîf* (loofah) "and soap for his corpsewashing".

Another redaction shows us how freely this street poetry is handled.

"Muhammed the Ghandûr came along first by the crockery market. "He was then however hunted to the Nûriyyeh quarter. He met "a Berber woman; he said: call me a woman from Morocco to "prepare me a Qâdirite procession. She said: go to Syria to the "people with gay hearts. He who does not like Muhammad al-Ghan-"dûr let him go to his sister Nûr, she cuts out the linen shroud "and digs the graves".

Singing girls, like those with whom we have left the Mekkan ladies, make such songs, and spread them abroad, as the women hear from the singings girls the songs which then come through the children on to the streets. During this musical entertainment, the women enjoy refreshments and dainties of all kinds, drink green and black tea, smoke water pipes, and indulge in gossip over their absent acquaintances. Just as among the men there are many who give themselves up to the vice called after Lot, so many married women who have been badly brought up or who have been neglected by their husbands are addicted to the 'Lesbian' love, and these take their '*karîmahs*', generous ones (so they call the objects of their passion) with them to all social gatherings; these karîmahs are mostly young girls from the town, less often slave girls. Besides, malicious people say there are women who abuse the liberty given them on this occasion and have meetings with male lovers.

During this women's feast the men also have a small *haul*, the feast of Saint El-Mahdalî which on the 17th Jumâda al-âkhir is held at a short distance before the entrance of the Muna valley. Of the origin of this feast the following Mekkan legend is told.

Many years ago, on the 13th of the month of pilgrimage, the pilgrims had as usual been for three days assembled in the Muna Valley and were about to start on the return journey to Mekka. When the caravan got under way, no man or beast could get further westward than a certain point a little below Muna. After much vain inquiry the Grand Sherîf had the whole immediate neighbourhood searched, and some way off the road opposite the bewitched point was found an unburied corpse. This was the corpse of the Saint Mahdalî. After washing of the corpse, prayers for the dead, and burial, the caravan could go on its way undisturbed. By high orders a dome was built over the tomb, and a pious foundation gave afterwards an opportunity for a bounteous distribution of food on the feast of the saint, which distribution is enjoyed first of all by those who come to chant (*dhikr*) in his honour, and for this purpose a kitchen is set up in the neighbourhood of the dome. Why the feast was transposed into the month Jumâda al-âkhir the legend tells us not, and the Mekkans do not trouble their heads about such difficulties.

For this feast parties (*bashkas*) are formed as for the Mêmûnah, and many Mekkans spend two or three days in tents in the neighbourhood of the consecrated valley. The lively interest taken in the feast by the "sons of the quarters" was founded on their wish to spend some time in fighting their ward battles over again unmolested by soldiers or police in this retired spot. Except at the 'moonsplitting' (see above, page 9) nowhere do these affrays wax so furious as at the 'tomb of the stranger', the resting place of the Mahdalî. During my stay in Mekka, however, the time was not propitious for the lovers of these bloody spectacles, for the police were taking energetic steps against them.

Our Lady Mêmûnah, and the Shuhadâ, Sheikh Mahmûd and the Mahdalî, these are the special feasts of the Mekkans. The list of the *hauls* is however by no means exhausted, but the others interest only particular circles of people, and do not belong to the public life of the town. On the feast of Wali Jauhar (a saint of Indian

origin) some societies of Mekkans go up to his tomb near the fortress of the Hindi Mountain, and perform recitations of the Qur'an and of the Saint's life from evening till midnight, enjoying at the same time coffee and sweetmeats. Also at the tomb of the Holy Madman (*al-Mahjûb*) in the Bab al-ʿUmrah quarter similar meetings take place. At many other tombs which in former centuries were meeting places of the beau monde of Mekka, the honour paid by the believers now confines itself to occasional dedication of lamps and candles. Of many a ruined monument which the curious wanderer now passes by it is only a matter of conjecture among the learned what forgotten patron may there be reposing: there they make it a merit for themselves that they at least do not bend to the spirit of the times, but, in spite of the modest situation to which the saint has sunk, do not refuse him the tribute of a *fât'hah*.

An exception must be made of two feasts which are celebrated every month. On the eleventh of each month our Lady (Sittanâ) Khadîjah, the beloved wife of the Prophet, gives public audience in her domed chapel on the Maalâ graveyard, and on the twelfth Muhammed's Mother Sittana Aminah follows her example.

Both tombs have been set up in comparatively modern times, and indeed the cult of the two holy women does not seem to date from more than three centuries ago. Khadîjah however has long since made up for lost time, and is the refuge of Mekkans on all occasions of need.

Few days pass without some men and women vowing to her something for the healing of the sick or the fulfilment of some wish, or others going with candles or incense to her palace in the Necropolis in satisfaction of a vow, Opposite this tomb is the Mausoleum of Aminah, who shines only with the reflected lustre of the Sun Khadîjah.

In every week there is an All Souls' Day when the Maalâ is visited not only by all who have dear relations buried there, but by all who wish to pray for any of the dead for whom they care. Formerly these meetings regularly served for illicit assignations between the sexes, and the authorities have therefore ordered that the women and no men have free admittance here on Thursday afternoons till towards sundown; they are then gradually turned out by the police, and the visit of the men begins. Some of the lusty youths, however, are still able to attain their object. On the road to the Maalâ near the cemetery, are some coffee houses in a

breezy situation where admirers of the fair sex take up their position, smoke, and drink coffee, while the ladies pass by. Famous beauties are recognized. Veils are stirred by the wind, and a fairly elaborate conversation can easily be carried on with gestures from a distance.

It is not for weeping that Mussulmans go to the cemetery. Mourning for many years is neither theoretically nor practically approved in Islam; rather it is desired to provide the dead with that which they need. Besides clean tombs adorned with some flowers in their memory, they need pious works so that they may without fear appear before God. Such works can be so to say sent after them, and the usual gifts of this kind are distributions of food to the poor at the tomb and recitations of some sections of the Qur'an. Both kinds of pious action are richly rewarded by God, and in place of this reward people beg him to discharge the account of their dead relations or friends. On the Maalâ we therefore always find Qur'an-reciters who for a small reward in this world give up their reward in the next world for their religious exercise to the departed who are named to them. Also sellers of bread are there, and beggars who make the practice of charity possible. But he who wishes to entrust his prayers to or show his love for one or more saints will always find several *faqîhs* (pious and learned men) ready to accompany him and lead him in his prayers. If good works are bestowed at the tombs of saints, this is done with the selfish object of winning the saint as a friend and intercede, for these 'friends of God' have already in the past won paradise for themselves.

The ladies are less occupied with these matters than with the pedlars who offer them all kinds of sweetmeats and fruit, and with their lady friends; for in fact they have come here only to open their hearts one to another over the doings of the past week while enjoying together various 'friandises'. When the sun is going down they slowly and reluctantly walk together towards the gate and return home.

Some men at once use their right to enter into the 'city of the dead': these are they who on that particular day are celebrating the *haul* of some dear departed one, for, according to pious custom, on such a day extraordinary gifts should be brought for the departed. On these occasions friends are invited and the night is 'made lively' with pious exercises. Others pay their weekly visit in the early morning after they have together performed the prayer of the dawn in the mosque; anyone who cannot do so will come in the course of the afternoon, which is otherwise the time for visiting

friends. For all Mekkans the Maalâ is a Friday promenade: they bring no sad thoughts with them, but rejoice rather over the reflexion that Khadîjah is still well, and bethink themselves of the local tradition according to which 70,000 crowned heads are on the last day to rise from these tombs.

On the eleventh of each month great parties of men go to Khadîjah with caldrons full of rice, meat, and other food. Partly inside the tomb building and partly before the door the assembled men sit down to listen to the Prophet's life which is read out to them by the sèyyid who has hereditary charge of the tomb. He is given a money gift when he closes the reading with a prayer, to which prayer all present say 'Amens': the meal is then enjoyed.

Till about midnight new parties are continually arriving. Later on single individuals sit round the wooden grave cover on small carpets under the dome, and every moment cling in prayer to the heavy carpets which cover that receptacle, and which with difficulty can be reached with the hand through the iron caging.

For the children of the world also provision is made. Food and drinks are on all sides to be had; near the entrance of the cemetery a mountebank is showing off his tricks. Respectable Mekkans forbid their sons to look on at these shows, for lovers of boys are on the watch for the favourable moment.

The feast of Aminah on the 12th of the month is merely a pale imitation of the *haul* of her more highly revered neighbour.

We have now accompanied the Mekkan in the Moslim calendar up to the seventh month; this month was even in the pre-Islamic time sacred, and has till today kept its importance for Mekka. First of all there are two days in Rèjèb (the seventh month) which deserve our attention.

On the 12th, as the whole town knows, a solemn assembly takes place in the building erected on the slope of the Abu Qubês Hill. This assembly was a few decades ago as unknown as the Zâwiyah-building[26] itself. The assembly consists of the adepts of the Senûsiyyeh, that brotherhood which within a few years has attained in Africa and Arabia the highest political and religious significance and which on this day celebrates the day of the death of its founder. In the

[26] *Zâwiyah* (lit. 'corner', i.e. place of withdrawal from the world) = headquarters of a religious confraternity.

towns of Western Arabia this *tarîqah* (lit. way = religious order) has remained to this day highly honoured, but by no means overtopping its sister orders. For the districts of the Hejaz, inhabited by Harbis and other Beduins, it possesses however the highest significance, for its practical mission has succeeded in bringing to a great extent under its leadership the sons of the desert who are refractory to all authority and are far removed from the official Islam. Herein the *tarîqah* must certainly have made some compromise with its severe principles, for the Beduins have put away neither their robbery nor their ignorance in matters of dogma and ritual. The Senûsî's have no doubt good reasons for contenting themselves in the meantime with what is possible; this much doctrine they have bestowed upon the Harb men, namely that the protection of the holy Senûsî in the next world gives them fair hope in spite of many sins, and that such protection can be obtained only by obedience to the representative of the Sheikh. That they are penetrated by these ideas is certain. Most localities in the so-called Hejaz have small meeting places for the order, and, while the pilgrim road is always becoming unsafe, a caravan of the brethren, *Rakb al-Ikhwân* (caravan of the Brothers) can every year pass from Mekka to Medina without special precautions.

As to the role which this brotherhood is destined to play in the future history of Islam, my Mekkan experiences can afford me no surmise. It is enough to say that the feast is celebrated in the night of the twelfth by the Brethren by a recitation of the Sheikh's life and by united chanting (dhikr). Early in the morning many sheep are slaughtered and mountains of rice cooked, and in the afternoon this food is set before all comers. It may be imagined that the populace avail themselves of the offered blessings for this and the next world.

From the earliest times the 27th Rèjèb was a feast day on which specially solem 'umrahs' (small pilgrimages) were performed. In Moslim times the day acquired new claims, first because the Kaabah enlarged by Abdallah ibn Zubair was on that day consecrated, next because tradition has it that Muhammed's nocturnal journey from Arabia to Jerusalem and from thence to Heaven took place on the 27th Rèjèb. As that new structure of the Kaabah was soon demolished by the Omayyads, the journey to Heaven, ever embellished with new legends, has remained for the Moslims the cause of the feast. Almost in all its details the feast, whose beginning is announ-

ced with cannon firing on the afternoon of the 26th, resembles the birthday feast of the Prophet. Only now the reading out, which has been going on for some days, is not of the Prophet's biography, but of the journey to Heaven (*Miʿrâj*), a subject which has been elaborated in many works. As is well known, the conversations therein of Muhammed with Gabriel, the prophets, and God, are so conceived that they contain purely useful instruction in Moslim doctrine and about the thereafter.

In passing, a strange custom may here by mentioned which is observed by the Medina people on this feast day of the Miʿrâj after the close of the reading, called by the vulgar Khutbah, which is held in the mosque there as in Mekka. As soon as the man charged with the reading has spoken his last Amen, the people of the lower class and the Beduins, who are always largely represented, fall on the man and tear in pieces his upper garment as if their felicity depended on their getting a piece of this mantle (*jubbah*). The townspeople give the silly explanation that many years ago one of the mosque servants out of envy of his fortunate colleague to whom this always extra paid *Miʿrâj* reading had been entrusted, had put it into the heads of the Beduins that the blessing of the feast would fall only to the lot of those who carried a piece of the mantle of the reader (*Khatîb*) home with them. And so he had got the preferred one into this unpleasant position, and the assault had since remained traditional. Though unable to offer a certain explanation in the place of this euhemerism, we may refer to something similar related to us by Herr M. Quedenfeldt of the Riff Berbers tearing up the burnus of the Sultan in enthusiastic veneration and taking away the bits as talismans (Berliner Zeitschrift für Ethnologie 1888, p. 112). The following story supplies a good parallel to the foregoing explanation. Not far from the frontier of the Holy Territory, on the road from Jeddah to Mekka, stands a tree which is honoured by the neighbouring tribes hanging thereon all sorts of motley rags. It is well known that this tree cult is of remote antiquity in Arabia. If we ask what these rags mean, we are told by one that a Saint buried under the tree is thereby honoured, by another that the tree is the one under which Muhammed in the year 628 received the oath of fidelity from his adherents whom he had taken with him to Mekka,

and a third explains that in those times a piece torn from the Prophet's turban remained hanging on the tree when he got up and that in commemoration thereof rags are still hung on the tree.

Medina displays also in other matters a more antiquated character than the sister town. There some years ago the population was roused to the highest excitement because a woman guilty of murder was shut up provisionally by the Turkish Government and was not immediately handed over to the persons entitled to the 'jus talionis'. In the end the Pasha for want of a sufficient garrison had to give way to the mob that collected before his house and to act as though the modern laws (*qawânîn*) had not been written for Medina. Also violent opposition would be offered in Medina to the telegraph and such like novelties. Many Medina people feel ill at ease in Mekka because they are everywhere coming across offensive objects and customs: thus Medina-born people hear with horror that there are Mekkans who are not ashamed to have intercourse with unbelievers in Jeddah. It is rightly said by the Mekkans themselves that in Medina men live only for religion (by which is meant above all punctuality in certain outward observances and hatred of modern culture), and in Jeddah only for worldly goods, while in Mekka the business of life is divided between this world and the next. Though the neighbours of God (Mekkans) recognise a just mean in their own conduct, yet in their comparative appreciation of the neighbours of Muhammed (men of Medina) there is a recognition of an advantage on the side of the latter. Indeed of the jealousy between the two towns which in the beginning of the ninth century (after Christ) provoked literary conflicts, no trace has remained. Since the separation of the Hejaz Province from the Khalifate the former capital, Medina, sank gradually into a dependency on Mekka, and there was no longer any ground for jealousy on Mekka's part. Although Mekka has in the Holy Territory a decidedly higher rank than Medina, the Mekkans show a not less decided preference for Medina: without disparagement of the holiness of their own town, which also brings them their livelihood, yet they talk of Medina among themselves as the only end of all pilgrimages.

This feeling is partly to be explained by the reverence felt by the people of the 'great town' for the old fashioned Medina people who have bent less to the spirit of the age; the smaller town Medina owes this peculiarity to its position more than twice as far from the sea as Mekka: she stands in culture half way between

Mekka and the interior of Arabia. The love of the Mekkans however is more for the town than for its inhabitants, or rather, it is for its great inhabitant who has been reposing there for 1300 years, the Prophet of God. Instead of now as formerly squabbling with the Medinese over the question whether on careful examination the holy writings are found to contain more in favour of the one or of the other town, the Mekkans of today are never tired of expressing their affection for the town of Muhammed. This is a characteristic proof of development in Moslim doctrine. The reverence for men, to which Muhammed was so hostile that he cursed the Jews and Christians for making the 'tombs of their prophets into prayer places' has in his own religion so prevailed that his own tomb is now the object of the fervent prayers of Moslims. Except in places under Wahhâbî influence the need for human intervention has removed the God of Islam ever further from his worshippers, and the universally spread cult of saints finds its acme in the reverence paid to the dead Prophet.

When Mekkans are quietly chatting together and the conversation turns on Medina, at once on all sides the blessings are celebrated that are lavished there by the Prophet: meat tastes better there than elsewhere; milk and butter are plentiful; there are the 'forty kinds' of dates from the immediate neighbourhood, manners are simpler; hospitality is more charming than in Mekka. Miracles also are related. A Mekkan who spends every year many weeks in Medina has seen how, every Friday evening, when the sun is setting, some doves settle on the dome of the tomb (which tomb as is well known lies inside the mosque), and, having given their greeting to the noblest creature of God, again rise into the air and disappear. If on any occasion the Môlid (life of the Prophet) is recited in a Mekkan house, the audience sitting round the incense basins interrupt the reciter with sighing exclamations of: "Oh, Apostle of God! Oh Medina!", and if there is a good reciter of poetry in some social gathering he is not allowed to go until he has recited a beautiful song of praise of Muhammed full of yearning for his tomb. Verses like these: "My heart leans towards thee O Apostle of God!" — "But alas my back is heavily laden with sins!" — bring tears into the eyes of many a listener.

The Mekkan women are thankful to their lords for permission to perform the Hajj: they regard it, however, chiefly as an opportunity for social gatherings, such as those at the tomb of Sheikh

Mahmûd. Their gratitude, on the other hand, for a 'visit' to Medina regards chiefly the spiritual blessings attendant thereon and the peace they will make with God through the intercession of his Apostle.

Even the present Grand Sherif attributed his success against the party of the Governor Osman Pasha for a great part to the prayers he had offered on the sacred tomb.

While now the later *qâfilah's* (slow travelling caravans) take especially the foreign pilgrims and Mekkan women and children to Medina, the sons of Mekka have in the month Rèjèb (and therefore we have permitted ourselves the above explanations) their *rakbs*, or swift caravans of riders, to the sacred tomb.

For these Rèjèb caravans the Mekkans divide themselves into several groups according to their town quarters; each group has a leader called Sheikh of the Rakb. Preparations are begun long before. Those who possess no dromedaries hire them, or content themselves with a swift ass. Both riders and beasts go through days of practice for the fatiguing ride, for each rakb strives to get past the others on the journey to and from Medina, and laggards come in for general abuse from their hardy travelling companions. If the relations between the tribes on the road and the Government are specially strained, then the much desired visit to Medina is given up for the time, but under ordinary circumstances the rakbs travel in tolerable security. They are then fairly numerous and composed only of strong men fit to bear the hardships of this race on which they start, taking with them only what is indispensable for the journey, and moreover, well-armed. There is no use in attempting a small raid against such a company. In four or five days, such companies get over the ground that is covered by the *qâfilahs* in ten or twelve days. In Medina their friends come gladly to meet them. The rakbs remain in Medina only long enough for their 'visits' to the Prophet and the other saints, and on their return, which is always announced by a forerunner, are received with jubilation in Mekka. We will describe in the next chapter how at home in Mekka the return of the rakbs and qâfilahs from Medina is celebrated.

Towards the end of the month single groups of pilgrims arrive, and in Shaaban (the eighth month) the influx becomes more considerable. These forerunners wish to perform the Ramadhan fast in

Mekka, and if possible to go before the Hajj with the great caravan to Medina. The fifteenth of Shaaban, especially the night of that day, is regarded in the whole Moslim world as a date on which Allah takes important decisions on the destiny of the inhabitants of the world for the coming year. The conviction that everything has been decided from all eternity in God's Decree does not prevent believers from clinging fast to such dates and offering prayers by which God's mercy may be obtained to obliterate fateful decrees. For the women and children the day is a sort of small feast. Pious men pass the night mostly in Qur'an-reciting and other religious exercises, and in the mosque till after the evening prayer they form small circles in the middle of which a leader in prayer puts up a special Shaaban prayer which the others listen to in worshipping gesture and interrupt with their Amens. All the pilgrims who have arrived are present without an exception. The assistants of their guides offer them their services as leaders in prayer, and get for this a present. I myself witnessed how one of these assistants, who was new to the work, and the height of whose ambition it was to become a sheikh or guide himself, toiled for days in learning by heart the most used Shaaban prayers.

A part of one of these prayers is as follows: "Oh Allah, shouldst Thou have written me in Thy Book as unhappy or needy, so wipe out from the book Oh God of Thy grace my unhappiness, my neediness, etc." In the night the mosque is more brightly lighted than usual (it is also full moon), and on the next day the Kaabah is opened to the public.

In the second half of Shaaban the talk is of the approaching Ramadhan, a month of fasting which is grievous in the hot 'city of God'. It is a yearly repeated joke to say somewhere about the 20th Shaaban to the children: "Sheikh Ramadhan has to day started with a caravan from Medina" (and so should be in Mekka in about ten days): on each following day the stage which he should have reached on the road is named, and in the end it remains uncertain whether he will arrive in one or two days, for the beginning of the month depends on the question whether on the evening after the 29th Shaaban the new moon is visible or not.

For the fast the people prepare by 'cleaning' their stomachs. Each one goes to a doctor and asks for a "draught" (*sherbah*), which word curiously enough here, if used by itself, always means a laxative pill. The sherbah is prepared by each doctor after his

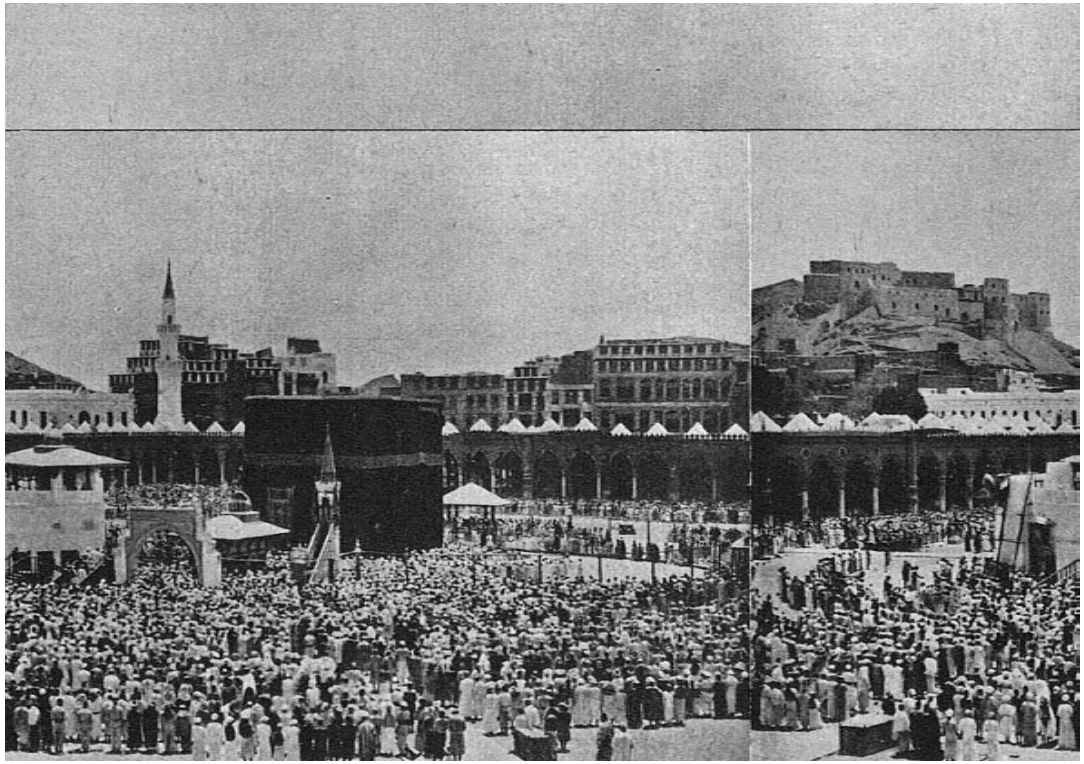
own receipt, which, like all receipts, he keeps very secret. Though other remedies are sold, the doctor at all times offers the sherbah gratis to all who ask for it.

With anxiety the cannon fire is awaited which announces the beginning of the ninth month. Immediately after it is heard, the business streets become livelier: everywhere the sellers of eatables cry out offers of the favourite Ramadhan dainties so that the believers may by a good full meal (*sahûr*) taken shortly before dawn strengthen themselves for the first day of hunger, and what is worse, thirst.

Ramadhan is in a pre-eminent sense the month of religion; even those whose religious zeal is at other times weak strive now in this period of atonement to do all they can to win God's pleasure, while the pious plunge to the overstraining point into the doctrine and practice of Islam. We can best get a clear idea of the life of the Mekkans under 'Sheikh Ramadhan' by giving a description of the ritual ordinance of any twenty-four hours day, and note on each point what is added or modified in the month of fasting. We will start shortly before sunset, which is the boundary between two days.

Only a small corner of the mosque is still lighted by the sun; everywhere else are shadows, but for hours still the marble slabs of the paths from the colonnades to the centre of the court remain so hot that a man shifts his feet every moment to seek a cooler place. Under the colonnades and also in the courtyard here and there lusty representatives of the holy science sit in the middle of their hearers and read out special Ramadhan lectures; the ordinary lectures have stopped, because the mosque will be too much occupied by worshippers, and also because teachers and scholars would scarcely be able without some refreshment of the body to digest much spiritual nourishment. On the lips and tongue of the too industrious professor a white coating shows how hard these afternoon hours have been to him; and the sickly faces of many disciples show that weakly constitutions cannot get through this month without digestive disturbances. Almost all the strangers who have been staying for a short time in the town are moving about through the spaces of the temple.

Soon the Zemzemîs begin to bestir themselves: from their *khèlwahs*



RITUAL PRAYER IN THE HARAM (MOSQUE)

(the low dark rooms which surround the colonnades of the mosque on the ground floor) they drag out their mats and carpets and spread them on the usual seats of their clients over the gravel of the mosque courtyard or the marble of the colonnades. Before these long stretches of carpet they put earthen jars (*dôraq's*) of cooled Zemzem water, about one for every five persons: before the places of distinguished customers they place moreover one or two drinking vessels of sweet water, rainwater, or water from the aqueduct, according to the taste of their patrons. Through all the nineteen doors the multitude now pours in: almost everyone has his little bag or basket full of bread and dates, olives, or figs, in his hand. Richer people are followed by slaves who carry on their heads metal plates heavily laden with food.

All now have taken their places, and are waiting for the moment when the Rèyyis (see above) in the upper storey of the Zemzem-house swings a flag, whereupon a cannon shot is fired from the fortress. At this sound a hum of thanks-giving passes through the rows of those present, and then there is a clutching at the drink especially, and at the eatables. After a few minutes the *adhân* or call to prayer resounds from the seven minarets when the interval begins within which the sunset prayer can be performed.

This interval is short, and for that reason the recitals of praise which are usual after other calls to prayer are omitted. The adhân is followed immediately by the iqâmah, the last and shorter call to the prayer that is beginning in the mosque. Under the leadership then of the Hanafite Imam who is standing in his Maqâm (stall) all those present now perform their prayer.

One might be tempted to suppose that the believers would follow the Imam of their own rite only; the Law however not only allows people to follow in prayer Imams of another recognised school, but even forbids them in such a case, without lawful hindrance, to put off the fulfilment of their duty. The installation of Imams of all the rites in the mosque of Mekka, and the ordinance that several of them successively shall lead the same prayer are not due to the requirements of the Hanafites, Shafi'ites, Malikites and Hanbalites who live together in Mekka, for they get no profit therefrom. Only as Mekka is the holy city of the whole of Islam, and is not the property of God's neighbours, nor of any one dynasty, it was impossible to exclude one of those rites to all of which the doctrine allows an equal value. That nevertheless the Hanafite and

Shafiʿite schools enjoy certain advantages is due to the political importance of those rites.

Immediately after the Hanafite, the Shafiʿite comes forward as leader of prayer at sunset. Behind him are ranged those who are late in arriving at the mosque or who on account of impurity, business, or such-like reasons, have not been able to join in the first prayer. The more numerous are the ranks of the worshippers, the more *mukabbirs* (fuglemen) stand along the ranks to put about the whole space at once as if by telephone the call, "God is greatest" (*Allâhu akbar*) that is sounded by the Imam to mark the transition to each new part of prayer, for most of the worshippers can themselves neither hear nor see the leader.

As soon as the Shafiʿite has done his prayer, the Sheikh of the mu'addhins (this is also a guild) from the upper storey of the Hanafite lodge sounds for a quarter of an hour formulae of praise (*rawâtib*). These at the sunset prayer take the place of the songs which in other functions are intoned after the call to prayer.

The sunset is for the day what the month Ramadhan is for the year: even Moslims who are at other times negligent then perform the one prayer, and he who at other times is content with the obligatory prayer formalities now performs the merely 'recommended' ones also, and even offers private prayer now for some time longer. In Ramadhan however the people hurry home, for wife and children are awaiting them with a proper meal: the little taken in the mosque was a mere snack (*fatûr*). Choice meats are prepared for this fast-breaking, especially such as may excite the appetite, which has been much impaired by the fasting. According to Mekkan taste this quality is peculiar to fat meats mixed with sour fluids (such as lemon juice and vinegar).

Only lazy men lie down to sleep after breaking fast. Any one who is not otherwise kept back by business or indifference goes in Ramadhan to the *ʿishâ* prayer, (about two hours after sunset) to the mosque, even though accustomed generally to perform it at home. The minarets and the whole mosque are brightly illuminated: besides, on different spots in the courtyard, lanterns, on stands about 1½ metre high, are set up. As soon as the prayer is finished the ranks break up, and the faithful gather in groups of 10 to 100 or 150, each group surrounding its own lantern as a meeting point. The men of one group now form behind the light, which has in the meantime been kindled, several rows, in front of which one of

them sets himself up as Imam to lead the *tarâwîh*, that is, the night prayer of Ramadhan consisting of 20 parts. Each of these Imams too has his fugleman behind him who loudly repeats the transition formulae and who, besides, as an introduction to the whole solemnity, utters a cry ('nightprayer! may God reward you for it') and after every four parts recites a short special prayer. The heart of such an assembly is formed of some good friends who have come together of their own motion, some brothers of the same mystical society, or again some men who at the invitation of a Zemzemî (see p. 21), are performing their *tarâwîh* under his guidance. There are also traditional societies whose members for instance are certain men of the house of the Grand Sherîf, and also traditional Imams of the *tarâwîh* who every year take their regular place, being certain that people will form in rows behind them. Every meeting can be joined by others at their pleasure either regularly or only for a few evenings. It is the rule however that everyone should keep his appointed place for the whole month.

Although in Mekka no man of piety considers his Ramadhan as complete without the *tarawîh*, yet this rite is not one of the obligatory ones, but is only recommended by the Law. And the populace nowhere regards it as obligatory, and the Imams for it are merely prayer-leaders for the occasion: even when the regular Imams in the mosque undertake the leading of a tarâwîh-meeting, they do this without any official character.

The length of the tarâwîh varies a good deal: on one spot a group of people has formed who have much to do in the night and whose Imam makes the recitation as short as possible and takes only ten to twenty minutes for the twenty parts; elsewhere the leader is a boy of twelve or fifteen who has just gone through the Qur'an school with special success and who now as an academical *tour de force* is going through the whole Qur'an in twenty to thirty evenings in tarâwîhs.[27] In another place an accomplished

[27] It is well known that for the ritual prayer besides the fât'hah any other part of the Qur'an according to the will of the individual may be recited. Certain vague recommendations of the Law are by no means binding, and the individual Imam thus has it in his power to make a prayer very short or to lengthen it out. A man who was acting as Imam of tarâwîh in 1885 did such wonders of speed that he was ironically called 'steamer' (*bâbûr*). When an Imam of the tarâwîh has recited the whole Qur'an, the congregation end the performance with united prayers and all together partake of sweetmeats. On such occasions also a new gown (*jubbah*) is put on the Imam at the expense of the meeting. Where there has been no such recitation of the whole Qur'an, (*khatmah*) all this takes place on the last evening of the month.

faqîh with a fine voice gets to the end of the Qur'an in about the same number of nights, but he takes up a larger part of each night, for the repose of the self-confident artist has taken the place of the nervous haste with which every boy gets through his task. Moreover, until near midnight new gatherings are continually forming, for many are obliged immediately after the ʿishâ-prayer to go and look after their business, as no such efforts would be possible for them during the day. Thus the mosque on these nights presents a highly interesting spectacle, which is enjoyed by the majority of those who, having themselves finished their devotions, take long walks about the holy place. Among the pious 'learned' and laity are many who, though they have in the day time enjoyed only some short necessary spells of slumber, also, after the tarâwîh, so long as may be, exercise themselves in Qur'an-reciting, chanting (dhikr) and other voluntary performances: the efforts of these religious heroes, efforts made possible by severe discipline and practice, are not less astonishing than the similarly trained bodily strength of the Jeddah porters who carry a weight of some hundreds of kilos for a fifteen minutes journey on their backs. He however who conforms to the Mekka principle of the just mean sleeps half the day and thus acquires strength to enjoy social life after the tarâwîh. Today he receives guests; tomorrow he goes himself on visits; the next day he meets his friends in the coffee house: in the neighbourhood of Merwah, especially, the coffee houses are the whole night lit up and thronged. Many however during the day are prevented from sleeping by business, so the night in Mekka is turned into day only in so far as many Mekkans can enjoy sleep in the daytime.

Specially pious Mekkans, and notably many members of the foreign colonies and all freshly arrived pilgrims use these nights in another way to obtain a new heavenly reward. The old custom of making in the month of Rèjèb more little pilgrimages (ʿumrah) than usual has almost entirely fallen into oblivion: on the other hand it is customary in every Mekkan family to fast for one or more days in Rèjèb, either voluntarily or so as to make up for Ramadhan days on which fasting was prevented. The traditions however are in full vigor in which the Prophet promises quite special rewards for 'little pilgrimages' made in Ramadhan. Only a few have the courage to go on foot to the place outside the holy district (Tanʿîm or vulgarly ʿUmrah), where the pilgrim garb is donned, as after

their return the exhausting ceremonies of the pilgrimage are before them: they hire asses for the purpose, and, if not yet naturalized Mekkans, they take guides given by the Sheikhs to wait on them and instruct them in the ceremonies.

People who are quite acclimatized perform their ʿumrah in the morning; others do it in the afternoon, but thereby generally forego the advantage of breaking their fast in the mosque. The great majority, however, perform the ʿumrah in the night time. Hardly earned is the piece of bread which the guides get for accompanying two or three parties on the sandy, stony roads to Tanʿîm: the asses however suffer most. Enterprising citizens of the 'petite bourgeoisie' buy asses for Ramadhan, to thrash out of them a good profit by their hire in the fasting month. They willingly accept the smallest price offered to them afterwards for the emaciated beasts. Though those who have anything to gain by it do all they can to encourage the strangers to the greatest efforts, still there are few who can manage to perform one ʿumrah daily.[28] Indeed many are so exhausted the first time that they give up any further attempts.

About half an hour after midnight during the whole year mu'addhins mount the seven minarets of the Haram and sing with far-carrying voices for two hours formulae called *tadhkîr* or *taghfîr*, partly in verse, partly in rhymed prose. Allah is appealed to therein for pardon for the community of Mohammed, but the faithful are at the same time admonished, now that the night is on the turn, that they must consecrate some more of it by 'calling God to mind' that is to say by performing some religious exercises. With the exception of those pietists who in ritual matters go far beyond their bare duty, the Mekkans content themselves, when awakened by the sound of the *tadhkîr*, with the mumbling of some customary formulae and then turn on to the other side.

In Ramadhan however the *tadhkîr* has also the significance of the *tas-hîr*, i.e., the recalling to the faithful that they should prepare and consume the last meal (*sahûr*) before sunrise of the day of fasting. When the tadhkîr begins, there are still three hours, for the fast day begins shortly before the call to morning prayer. Nevertheless the reminding of the faithful of the matter of the last

[28] The most meritorious ʿumrahs are performed on the 21st, 23rd, 25th, 27th, and 29th nights of Ramadhan, on one of which (it is not known which), being the 'night of Divine Decree' (Qur'an 97) Muhammed received his first revelation which is the basis of the entire holiness of the month.

meal has found its way into the first tadhkîr formulae. This last meal is not only allowed and essential for the health of the fasters, but is even recommended by Holy Law.

"O! sleepers rise for your good — call upon God who guides the winds — the army of the night has already departed — the troop of the morning glow has come and is shining — drink and hasten for the morning is near." In a like strain the mu'addhins continue, and after about two hours end with what is popularly called the first call to prayer, so called because those who wish to join in prayer at the earliest possible moment in the mosque have still an hour in which to dress, enjoy a small breakfast, (of course if it is not Ramadhan), and to go down to the mosque. Half an hour after this call resounds the last warning from the minarets so that the first glow of dawn may not (in Ramadhan) surprise people who have a bit or sup in their mouths: *tatfiyeh* (curfew) is the popular name of this warning. In all the streets however, an hour before this tatfiyeh, warners are already marching who beat their drums before each large house and in traditional form remind the householders of the 'awakening' so that they may not sleep away the time. On the feast day which closes Ramadhan these men come to the houses of their patrons with an ass to receive the expected presents. From some they get a piece of money, from others some grain. Many give them the gift of the fast-breaking (*zakât al fitr* — vulgarly *fitrah*), which here consists of a fixed quantity of wheat-meal.

About half an hour after *tatfiyeh* the real call to prayer from the minarets is introduced by the ten minutes long *tarhîm*. This tarhîm is performed all the year round, and it, as well as the beginning of the tadhkîr and the first morning call to prayer is a time mark for the Mekkans. In the tarhîm, God, in the name of the community, is solemnly appealed to for mercy (*rahmah*), and the chanter begs for it 1) by the Greatness of God 2) by the Greatness of Muhammed 3) by that of Abu Bakr 4) by that of Omar 5) by that of Othman 6) by that of Ali, and he closes the appeal with some appropriate Qur'an verses. His chant has therefore also become a symbol of orthodoxy, as it sets forth in the proper order of their reigns the four orthodox Caliphs as the noblest of the men round Muhammed.

At the same time there pass through the chief streets of Mekka some men who without being appointed to it or getting a farthing for it, stop at every side street and hurry up the sleepers: "Prayer! O servants of God", sing they in a loud voice, and others also

drone through the long formulae. But there are many in this great town of Arabia who hear the call but fail in desire to rise early, not in faith. It is a convenient arrangement for such persons that all the four rites are represented on this occasion by Imams. They can enjoy the privileges of public prayer, (if they do not give up that privilege as many often do), for a man must be very late not to arrive in time for the Hanafite Imam who performs the last of all.

Pious men and those whose position imposes on them a certain regard for appearances, do not like to miss the first morning prayer, that according to the Shafi'i rite, and as there are also business people who are too glad to get over their religious duties early, this first prayer, performed by artificial light, is the most frequented.

The tarhîm is followed, at about an hour and a half before sunrise, by the adhân (call to prayer) proper, of which the formulae exactly prescribed by law are sung by the mu'addhins in a very loud voice. It is often asserted, but wrongly, that there is a special melody prescribed for this call. On the contrary, every mu'addhin may use for each call any melody with which he is acquainted, provided only that the correct pronunciation of the words is not impaired by the measure of the tones, and in Mekka we often hear very different melodies sounding together at the same time, for no mu'addhin pays any attention to what his colleagues are doing. One traditional custom prevails in Mekka, that if, (in the day time) by a rare chance the sky is clouded over all the adhâns are sung to erotic tunes until the sun is again shining in the blue. Like Qur'an reciting, the singing of adhâns is in Mekka a carefully cultivated, highly developed art.[29]

During the adhân, or immediately after it, the pious perform the voluntary morning prayer, each one for himself; many are still engaged in it when from the upper storey of the Hanafites' building the *iqâmah* is sounded, the last warning to prepare for obligatory prayer, and an Imam of the Shafi'ites takes up his position on the "Place of Abraham" (Maqâm Ibrâhîm).

When in the latter part of the year the inner court of the mosque is overflowing with a great throng of pilgrims, the Hanafite and Shafiite Imams may try to make more room for the assemblage by performing their function as near as possible to the Kaabah.

[29] It might be supposed from Lane's "Manners and Customs" that mu'addhins everywhere are generally blind. This is in any case true only for Egypt, where half the population suffers from serious eye disease.

Such occasions are rendered especially solemn, and if it is a Friday the Imam chooses for the recitation in the prayer a part of the Qur'an which is connected with a prostration. The solemnity is enhanced by the congregation changing for one moment the erect position which is proper during the recitation for an extraordinary bending down.

After the Shafi'i prayer all who have any business to do hurry to the market. In Ramadhan too the proper time for buying meat, milk, vegetables, bread, and so forth, is the early morning. In the afternoon these provisions are not always to be had. The beggars during the fast cease to make their morning rounds in the town. In the evening they beg with success, as even the close-fisted give something for 'breaking the fast'. On the wide stone benches, shaded over with canvas sacking, which serve as shops in the bazaars, the tradesmen sit and as usual invite the passers-by to come in and make purchases. Their voices however seem weakened by their bodily exhaustion and by the solemn stillness of the surroundings. In the coffeeless coffeehouses is to be seen only an occasional idler lying asleep. The curious gapers, who generally form an important part of the bazaar public, are entirely wanting. Anyone who comes knows already what he wants to buy, so that the cries and jokes of the sellers, which at other times are usual, now find hardly any object. Instead, the latter now often sing the praise of Ramadhan, as if God had charged them with the recommendation of this heavenly merchandise. "Blessing on thee o faster! Glorious is thy reward!" — this is the burden of their song. Others mingle with it somewhat comic appeals to Ramadhan to pass away a little quicker and give opportunity for brisker business. "Oh Ramadhan! God grant thou mayest trot away!" (an allusion to the run taken by the pilgrims in performance of the *sa'y* ceremony on part of the road between the Safâ and Merwah hills.)

Meanwhile in the mosque first the Hanbalite and then the Malikite Imam have followed their Shafi'ite colleague at no great interval, and at last the Hanafite with a larger congregation than the two last named but a much smaller one than the Shafi'ite has finished the dawn prayers. Towards sunrise those who are not otherwise engaged perform their tawâf (promenade round the Kaabah with kissing of the Black Stone in the same):[30] here often acquain-

[30] It may be remembered here that such circumambulations not only form a part of the great and small pilgrimages, but are also independent religious performances. The

tances meet and speak about the day's novelties in their walk through the mosque after the close of the ceremony. After an hour only those are seen in the mosque whose work place so to say it is; learned men and students, pilgrims and unattached pilgrim guides (see page 28) who beset the pilgrims at this ceremonial promenade with their officious and pestering importunity, eunuchs, and Zemzemîs. All others have gone their different ways. Visits, which are otherwise paid in Mekka at almost all times of the day, (in the case of merchants however before sunset only in shops or business places), are in Ramadhan not paid in the day time unless for urgent reasons.

Shops with household utensils, ornaments, or articles of clothing are, it is true, opened, for strangers have in their new surroundings many unforeseen needs, and also certain Mekkans have forgotten one thing or another in their purchases before the fast. Nevertheless all kinds of business seem to be asleep. In the last days of the month new life is stirred, for almost all must buy grain for the *fitrah* (donation to the poor at the end of Ramadhan), and all, the poorest not excepted, buy new clothes for the feast. It is true many old Mekkans have their standing holiday suit which is taken out only on the occasions of the great feasts, but they too buy before the feast other new garments for the year.

Also the handicraftsmen are to a great extent idle. Still, many healthy Mekka-born people who live moderately and are accustomed to fast from their youth upwards are so hardened against the trials of Ramadhan that they work almost as much as usual.

Almost all well-to-do people in Mekka have watches, in proof of which one need only go towards sunset into the mosque when at the beginning of the call to prayer hundreds take their watches out of their pockets (or girdles, as the case may be) and set them at twelve. By far the greater number however have no conception of the time of day that is meant by 2, 3, 4 o'clock etc. Real significance is possessed only by the division of the day according to the five calls to prayer, that is to say into five periods: the night is divided into the above stated periods marked by the *tadhkîr* and the *tarhîm*. For a further subdivision of the time the two concerts serve that are daily performed before the palace of the Grand

---

strangers who come to Mekka for the pilgrimage habitually perform as many 'tawâfs' daily as possible, whereas the pious Mekkan whenever he has leisure performs two to five, and the average Mekkan confines himself to one before the Friday prayer.

Sherîf, and also the position of the sun: here there is never any question of minutes.

At noon and about three hours later the seven mu'addhins announce the beginning respectively of the noon and afternoon prayer; after both adhâns they sing besides for about twenty minutes praises of God, prayers about the Prophet, and remembrances of the four legitimate Caliphs; then in their order the Imams of the four rites come forward as liturgists. Generally first the Hanafite and next the Shafi'ite come forward, but this is subject to frequent change, for the will of the local authorities prevails within certain limits.

So long as there are not yet many pilgrims the concourse in these hot hours is relatively small. Born Mekkans who do not live for study are not at all ashamed to remain at home without the excuse of any impediment. Only if anyone just at the time of the adhân is asleep in the street or seems to wish to go past the mosque, then probably some pious man meets him who will not neglect his duty to the faith-brethren[31] but calls out to him, "Dost not hear oh Sheikh", "Prayer time! ho!". Therefore wearied men are careful to lie down at home and to wake up late in the afternoon, when the time is drawing on to prepare for breaking the fast.

So now we have again arrived where we began our description of the fast days. With warmer desire than at the beginning of Ramadhan the Mekkans await the first news of the appearance of the new moon which marks the close of this month. Uneasy is the crowd collected in the mosque for breaking the fast on the 29th day. Every instant hundreds press into a corner of the hall to look for the heavenly messenger on whose appearance it depends whether tomorrow will be the great feast of first Shawwâl, or only the day after. When the new moon has been seen, the news passes like wild fire through the town, and soon it seems as though all the noise suppressed for a whole month had concentrated itself within one night. On all sides slaves are coming down from the houses into the streets to

[31] The admonition to good and the warning from evil are impressed on Moslims as a capital duty, a duty which is the more important as Islam knows no clergy charged with imparting sacraments or otherwise with the cure of souls. The "priests", falsely so called in European books, perform for a small wage functions for which every educated Moslim is qualified. The recognition of other spiritual (e.g. mystical) authorities depends merely on the will of the individuals.

beat the big carpets and otherwise give a last touch to the great cleaning work. Everywhere we see new lattice-shutters being set up in place of the worn out ones. The bazaar is full of people running hither and thither, for on the last night the purchases are made which are as usual put off to the last minute. Almost every one now replenishes the wardrobe of his family and servants, buys sweetmeats and perfumes for his visitors, replaces household utensils, and goes to the barber, for whom to shave his head he has to wait on account of the crowd. At the barbers' booths also many in the open street are sitting on benches with two cupping vessels on their backs, for every Mekkan, however anaemic he may be, would expect death if at least once a year some blood were not taken from him, and people like to enjoy on the feast day the feeling of relief given by the operation.

Meanwhile in the house, cooking, boiling and baking go on. The reception room is festively adorned, and a second large room is prepared for a meal which will take place a few hours after the feast-day prayer.

To this religious service the believers go into the holy place already toward sunrise so as to find a comfortable place: indeed many remain on after the dawn prayer and enjoy to the full the view of the citizens entering proudly in festal garb, for they, and especially the middle classes, dress on this day quite differently from other days. About half an hour after sunrise a short call to prayer is sounded, and then the feast prayer composed of two parts is recited which is immediately followed by the feast sermon.

A few minutes after the ending of the prayer one can see how practical is the ordinance for the Friday service that the sermon should precede the prayer so that all are obliged to remain in their places during the sermon. Though in a mosque of the size of the *Haram* not more than one hundredth part of the congregation can understand a syllable of the Friday sermon, yet there is no lack of "reverential stillness", and those who are sitting at a distance murmur prayers to themselves in a low voice. Now, however, immediately after the feast prayer, a movement begins in the outer ranks of the congregation, and this spreads continually until only a small nucleus remains faithful to the preacher. The people have really gathered together for pleasure. They want to compare this "*mèshhèd*" (the congregation on this day is so called) with that of former years, and to see how expensively this man or the other is dressed.

The comparison with the past leads the sons of Mekka to an unfavourable judgment of the present. "It seems" they will say, "as if the whole world is suffering from a consumption or decline "of property, and we who have to live on their superfluity find "this state of things hard. Where are the rich Indians who used "to throw gold pieces about, the spendthrift Jâwah who only bought "to give presents, the Turks who used to bring along camel-loads "of souvenirs for their relatives? Today the pilgrims sing in chorus "together: 'We have no more money to spend'. See the consequen-"ces to Mekka of the general neediness. These clowns 25 years "ago on such a feast, would have allowed no decent man through "without him spending a handful of *khamsahs* (coins worth a "farthing), otherwise the rattles on all sides would have deafened "his ears. But now that costs money and the fellows know that "the people have brought no khamsahs with them. An *îd* (feast) "without some affrays between the different parties would in our "youth have been unthinkable; now when no money is made, the "fighting spirit fails". A merchant who sells goldthread and gold and silver foil for sticking on women's clothes confirms the pessimistic view; formerly these things were bought up in heaps, and now after long haggling a few dollars worth of the cheapest stuff is taken.

Laudatores temporis acti are no fewer in Mekka and Medina than with us: the above mentioned reflections are however not entirely baseless. All this does not stop the people from celebrating the feast with all possible joyousness: though in less costly clothes and without insolent swagger, they eat and drink as merrily as before.

We may remark by the way that this feast in contrast to the great feast of tenth Dhu'l-hijjah is officially recorded as the 'little feast', but in most countries is really more important than the other. No wonder! for people now rejoice over the close of the hard month of atonement, while the tenth day of the twelfth month (Dhu'l-hijjah) is certainly a day of relief for the exhausted pilgrims in the Muna Valley, but to the other believers affords no motive for mutual congratulation. It is known to be recommendable on that day to make prayer together and to hear a feast sermon and to consume together a sheep of sacrifice, but such mere imitation of a feast, which properly can be performed in Muna only, has no great attraction. Now it might be supposed that the rites of the great feast should nowhere be more solemnly performed than

in the valley east of Mekka. It is however not so. Unlearned Mekkans hardly know that the Law has ordained a similar religious service for the tenth Dhu'l-hijjah as for the Mèshhèd (feast) of the first Shawwâl (the month succeeding Ramadhan). Late in the night or early in the morning the pilgrims come up with their belongings from Arafat into Muna. Here the strangers stand in a helpless state. The Mekkan sheikhs and their servants must unload the camels, set up tents, prepare food, and in short look after all the needs of their clients. They are hardly ready before the time for divine service has long past. Besides, they must buy sacrificial animals for the pilgrims, and conduct them to a barber so that the uncomfortable pilgrim condition may be alleviated by shaving off the head. They must get the pilgrims riding-asses so that they may quickly ride to Mekka and there perform the closing tawâf (promenade round the Kaabah), and three days later return to Muna. Other Mekkans have come with their wares[32] to sell, or as barbers or butchers and they cannot leave their posts for a moment. The laws fixing prices for market goods are on this occasion suspended. Many of the pilgrims might go into the mosque at Muna and take part in the last prayer if it were not for the risk that they might later have to wander about for hours in the enormous camp unable to find their temporary dwelling: to accompany them however no one has any time.

In the mosque at Muna are therefore congregated only some prominent Mekkans and official persons, without most of the pilgrims knowing anything of the matter. The most pious pilgrims perform the prayer close to their tents in small congregations. Mekkans seldom take part in these devotions. The town of Mekka is however itself as good as deserted, and there can be no question of a Mèshhèd there. Not less then in the town of Mekka than elsewhere is the little feast a really great one, while the 'great feast' brings the Mekkans much joy but still more trouble, and the ceremonies that are not exclusively peculiar to the Hajj are therefore forgotten.

---

[32] Usually in Mekka the prices of the first needs of life, bread, meat, butter and so on are compulsorily fixed by the Hâkim (Inspector of the Market), but tradition rules that during the Hajj days at the Hajj stations these ordinances are left in abeyance so that demand and supply may work freely. It goes without saying that the market regulation which is said to be made for the common good is the cause of great abuses, which bring profit only to the officials.

After the Mèshhèd nothing is left to be done but to pay and receive visits. The younger people go first to their older relatives and then to neighbours, friends, and teachers: the circle is soon extended as widely as possible. A man goes with his friends to the acquaintances of the latter who are as yet unknown to him. People in a humble station visit their patrons and await a dole from them, one might say a New Year's gift, for though it is the first day of the tenth month, yet everything testifies that in the unwritten people's calendar this day is New Year's Day. On all sides we hear nothing but formulae of congratulation: "May you be one of the returning" (i.e., for whom the feast returns), "one of the blessed ones, every year enjoying good health!" and the answer is: "Yes, by God! you and we, by God's will, and the whole community of Muhammed". Coffee is served to the visitor at all times of day, and on a handsome tray three plates are offered with almonds, jujubes, and mixed bonbons, of which delicacies he takes some, whereupon the mubâshir (person who does the honours) covers up the plate again with a fine gilt-hemmed cloth. If the people of the house are gathered at the feastday meal, then the visitor is let go less easily even than usual until he has taken something with the others; if a few intimate friends happen to be together tea is quickly prepared; for the rest, however, these visits of congratulation are got through very quickly. When the visitor is leaving, or as a sign of permission to leave, the pan of burning incense (*mibkharah*) or the sprinkler of rose water (*marash*) is handed. Instead of the latter, also, a little plate may be brought on a tray, which plate contains pieces of wadding soaked in aromatic oil so that the guest may dip his little finger and rub himself therewith under the nose; and so the danger is avoided of spoiling fine silk garments with rose water. The visitor offers thanks for the fragrant gift and rises; the host then tenders him, besides the usual polite formula, his thanks for the trouble which he has taken.

In the wider streets the children disport themselves with "Russian swings" (*mudrêhah's*), and in the neighbourhood of Ali's birthplace the black sons of Ham raise their infernal noise. The women do not come much out of doors, as they have to see that the visitors have all they want.

In the Law it is recommanded to fast also for the first six days after the feast. This is done in Mekka only by a few precisians and very pious women, who thus make up in some wise for any days lost in Ramadhan by menstruation, but even of these women many put off this compensation until the month Rèjèb. For people of the true Mekkan 'happy mean' the second and third of the month are continuations of the feast for the men, who on them pay further visits and arrange convivial gatherings. From the fourth to the seventh day is the turn of the women. It is not that the men have had enough; on the contrary they continue the half-feast till towards the middle of the month, but the women during those three days have at their disposal the better rooms of the house, and do not confine themselves to visits of a few minutes, but sit for a good long time drinking coffee, tea, and sherbet, and indulging in regular outings like picknicks (called *qêlah's*, see above).

In the course of Shawwâl, if the relations with the Bedouins permit it, the great caravan (*qâfilah*) goes to Medina. Besides those pilgrims who have arrived early and their guides, the weak Mekkans and their wives and children use it — in short all who are unable to travel with the fast caravan (*rakb*). In a little more than a month they are back and bring to their relations, besides the blessing, as in the month Rèjèb, more presents than are brought in that month, for this caravan does not object to a little extra luggage. Dates, *duqqah*, (a powder in which people dip their bits of bread), and fans of palm leaves bought from Bedouin women on the road are the commonest presents. The visitors of the tomb also often bring from Medina a wheat-measure made of tin or of wood exactly according to the model of the *mudd* which was used by the Prophet for measuring out his gift on the occasion of the end of the fast and has since then been transmitted unimpaired from hand to hand. The genealogy of the possessor, on red paper, is always given with this measure, which contains about $^{4}/_{5}$ litre. These caravans also are escorted solemnly into the town on their return; they are joined moreover by such Mekkans as, during the short stay in Medina, do a little business and also win the blessing which can be snatched in a moment.

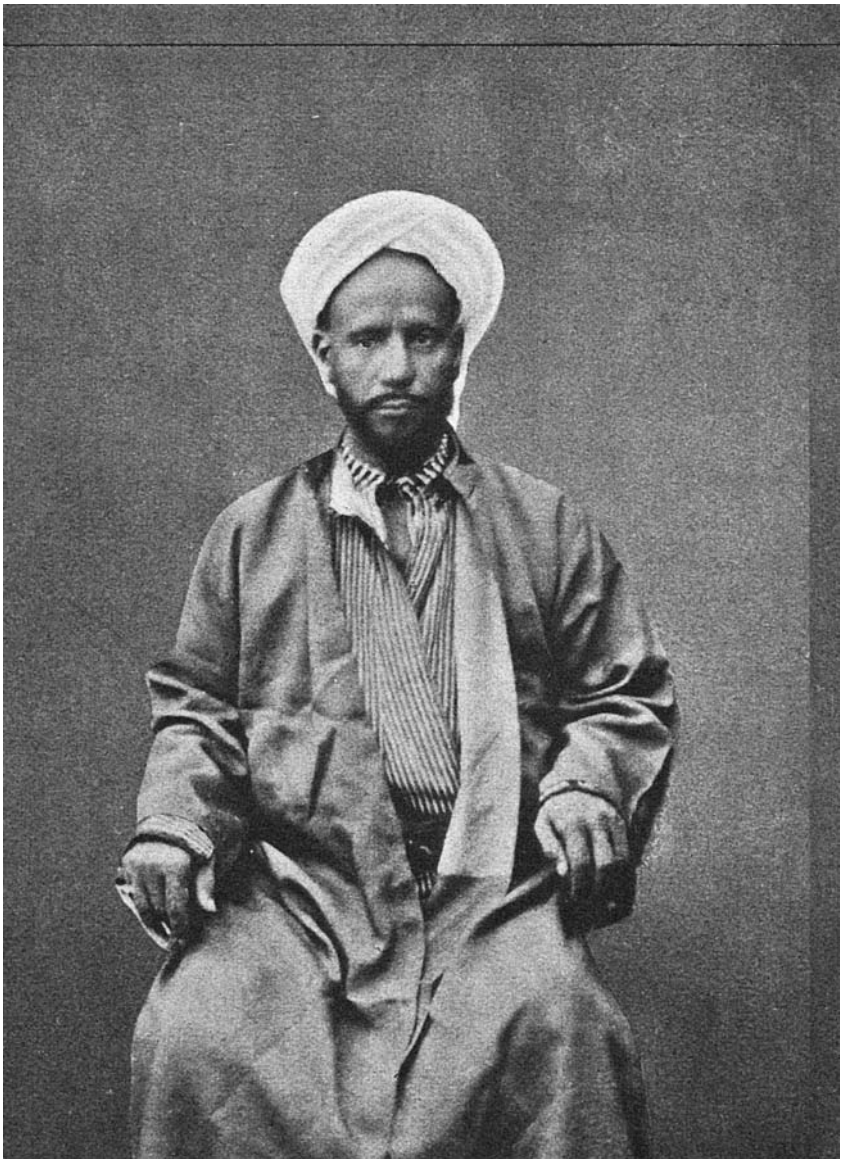
Already in this tenth, as still more markedly in the eleventh (Dhu'l-qaadah) month, the fever of gain is kindled, now that the second contingent of the pilgrim army is gradually coming into the holy city. The increasing competition makes the sheikhs ever more

fervently pray that God may send them many and well-to-do pilgrims; also they contrive one against the other intrigues of all kinds. By this rivalry for their bread and butter the guildsmen make it easy for the Government authorities to plunder the entire guild, for those authorities can play off one coterie against another when introducing objectionable regulations.

Failing regular taxes the Prince (i.e. the Grand Sherîf) and the Resident (i.e., the Turkish Wali) can only in indirect ways get for themselves a part of that which the Mekkans and especially the sheikhs earn. This is done in this way; they ask from the pilgrims[33] in Jeddah 'free contributions' for example for the maintenance of the Mekkan aqueduct and the construction of the Jeddah one. Sheiks who seemingly let too many pilgrims pass as unable to pay can be easily replaced by more skilful sheikhs. Then too the licences (*taqrîrs*) given to sheikhs are a means of shearing those sheikhs themselves. From of old the 'masters' of a guild require, besides their admission into the guild by the guildsmen, the recognition also of the local ruling powers. Like the admission, so the recognition also was good for life, if the person did not forfeit the position by his misconduct. Now this exception makes it possible for the Grand Sherif to threaten such a one with a withdrawal of the licence unless he secures himself by presents. Until a short time ago, except for such measures taken against some individuals the licence once acquired and properly paid for was unalienable; only at a sheikh's death his successor had again to pay, and the corporations gave besides on certain feast days, or when for instance they had to ask for an audience, presents to the ruler of the town. In these last years however the Prince and Resident have sometimes applied a general bleeding process to all the guild alike.

When, in the opinion of those gentlemen, the sheikhs who are exploiting a particular class of pilgrims seem to be making more than enough money, then they in accord with the chief sheikh (who in such matters can raise no objections) introduce a new ordinance for the guild by which ordinance all licences have to be renewed. This renewal, however, costs every sheikh some hundreds of dollars,

[33] Pilgrims who are not Turkish subjects have also to pay for a Turkish Government pass for their journey from Jeddah to Mekka, which pass is quite useless to them; the cost of it forming a concealed tax on the pilgrims.



CHIEF OF MUTAWWIFS FOR JAWAH PILGRIMS

and these men are thus compelled to discount their gains in advance. And now the chief sheikh has an opportunity, by giving under the new ordinances some advantages to his friends over their competitors, to do a little private business on his own account, but he must again make deductions from the profits of this private business as soon as the higher authorities have got wind of it.

Within the last few years for instance the licences of the sheikhs who attend to the Jâwah (Malays) have been twice renewed. Once it was found advisable to change the licences which hitherto applied to all Jâwah pilgrims for licences in which it was specified with which class of Jâwah (e.g., those from Puntianak, those from Lampong, and so forth) the sheikh concerned should deal. Already however in the next year it was found that this did not stop a sheikh poaching on the preserves of other sheikhs, as for instance of several sheikhs all licenced for pilgrims of the same district perhaps one by craft and intrigue could get hold of all the pilgrims. And so there was a further sub-division of the East Indian Archipelago, or, as the Malays settled in Mekka said jokingly, the Malay countries were once again put up to auction. Exception being made of some influential sheikhs, it is true to say that the highest bidder got the pilgrim stock of a province for exploitation.

Of course only a small minority was in favour of the reform, consisting of those who, in spite of the high price of the licences and in spite of all other exactions, had a prospect of an increase of their income; the rest complained bitterly, and some energetic people wanted even to rebel. Though such a rebellion is secretly planned, yet the Government find out everything through their secret police, in which women especially are employed; the leaders of the rebellion were all at once arrested; during their imprisonment the new ordinance was put into operation without difficulty, as the courage of the rest failed them. Moreover to prevent the discontented from making a 'representation' to Stambul at the instigation of enemies of the Governor, all the guildsmen were forced to sign an address to the Sultan thanking him for the appointment of such a Governor who by his new ordinance had met their wishes, and finally the guild master demanded of all his 'sons' a gift for all the trouble he had taken in their interest. And so in these last months the hide of the pilgrims has been sold before the pilgrims have been caught, for it is easy to understand that they have to pay the score.

From this example can be seen how the fever of gain gradually spreads in Mekkan society after Ramadhan. The more pilgrims pour in, the less room is left for the real Mekkan life. From the eleventh month of the year to the first of the next year, the stranger may mix with this multitude of raveners for plunder, whose material fortune for a whole year is at stake, without supposing for a moment that after his departure a joyous social life will take the place of the raging struggle for money. The pilgrim will be as little acquainted with this social life as with the importance of the mosque as a university, unless he settles down for a long course of study.

For this very reason that the information about Mekka which reaches Europe relates almost without exception directly or indirectly to pilgrims, we have above entered into rather closer detail of the real life of the Mekkans in so far as it can be observed so to say in the street and in public. Our last chapter (about the Jâwah) will give us an opportunity to take up this subject again, as also the subject of the exploitation of pilgrims; in the next two sections we will try to sketch the life of the Mekkan family and the scholastic activity that has its home in the *Haram* (mosque).

PART II

FAMILY LIFE IN MEKKA

He who wishes to introduce European readers to the Muhammedan family must first of all encounter certain inveterate errors. We imagine in the back part of a Moslim's house a kind of prison called the *harem* in which about four wives and God knows how many slaves serve the caprices of their master, and out of which they only now and then creep, closely veiled. In such false conceptions Europeans are only confirmed by the reading of most travel books, because just this intimate part of Moslim life almost always remains closed to travellers. What they hear of it (and they often get their information not from the most refined circles) gives them a strange impression, and what they do not hear makes them believe that Moslims keep these things extraordinarily secret; what they see is just those veiled figures, for veiling, though, as can be proved, no Moslim law, yet does belong to the usages which are followed with tolerable precision in the towns of the great Moslim culture-lands.

Harîm in Mekka is not a part of the dwellinghouse, but means the women themselves: when a man speaks of his *harîm* he means his wife, female slaves, or any other womenfolk who live in his house. From the description of Mekkan dwellings in a previous section, it is clear that for these harîm not always a special part of the house is reserved; but, wherever the women may be, there the visitor has just as little free access as with us into the bedrooms of the houses of his acquaintances, and, as no one can exactly know their temporary whereabouts, one must in strange houses take a man of the house as guide. However, one must not suppose the restrictions in the intercourse between the two sexes to be too hard and fast.

Mere business friends of the husband observe in any case very little of these domestic relations; it can happen that they even visit him several times in a week without knowing whether he is married, or has only a concubine, or what other women may be lodged in his house. On the other hand the simpler are the relations of life of the master of the house, the freer is the intercourse of the

house friends with its women. In the case of very rich merchants and the highest officials, the women of two friendly families see each other like the men, but the sexes remain always separated. There are even cases where two friends keep their wives far apart so that women's gossip may not disturb their good relations. Often they have, besides their great house in which the merchant has his place of business and the official his offices, several smaller dwellings or country houses in which the women folk mostly stay, and then of course the visiting friends are kept entirely out of touch with the *harîm* life.

When such friends gradually become more intimate, their *harîm* relations (which moreover are subject to great changes) become quite occasionally the subject of their conversation. If by chance the conversation turns on these matters, they are discussed without any reserve, unless there are some special grounds for reserve. For such free exchange of thoughts there is no need to be so very intimate, as the theme is here handled from a similar point of view as for instance with us the taste and experience of some men sitting together in regard to wine and tobacco.

It is otherwise with the middle classes; while the man has a good friend with him in the sitting room (*mèjlis*), the wife may for instance be sitting in the ante-room. The door which separates the two apartments is not quite closed. Besides in Mekka between door and doorpost there are openings which soon become of a hand's breadth, for the heat contracts the wood. If the man knows his friend to be modest, that is to say one whose "eye is already filled" in regard to women and who can look without covetousness on the good fortune of others, then he himself often draws his wife into the conversation and thenceforth the two can freely converse, only that there must be something separating them, a veil, a screen or the like: but various circumstances may even induce the husband to remove this last restriction.

In the case of relations who could not contract marriage with the woman, and also in the case of slaves, these rules are not enforced, and the exception is in Mekka interpreted in the widest sense, so that even more distant relations and free servants are included in it if they are trustworthy or otherwise harmless. Moreover friends with whom it is desired to have entirely free intercourse are sometimes made into adoptive relations of a man's wife, and he introduces them according to circumstances as father, son, or brother.

Of course the husband does this only in the firm conviction that there can never be a question of a marriage between the two, for otherwise the removal of the restrictions might to be first cause of an undesirable intimacy, whereupon the wife would make life so unpleasant for the husband that he would soon give her her freedom. One chief reason for the restrictions is just the looseness of the Moslim marriage tie. Were there not the possibility that a friend admitted to the society of the wife might soon without violation of morality take the place of the husband, there would be less of veils and partitions. When in the husband's view there is no possibility of such danger, then even those veils and partitions are removed so far as malicious tongues will allow it.

Now although the Law by no means contemplates such adoptive relationships and no one ever publishes them, yet a marriage between persons who are on this footing is regarded as immoral wherever it is known among the laity, and even the word *harâm* (forbidden by God) is employed for it.

In the lower classes also the same customs prevail, only that on account of restricted space the modifications above indicated are still more freely admitted, and for other reasons also the conversation between the sexes is in various ways facilitated.

While the sons of Mekka inquire about matters connected with women through female relations or gobetweens, this way is quite too dangerous for the stranger. He has recourse to male marriage-brokers, or rather the latter meet his wishes. A single woman whether maiden or *ʿazabah* (i.e. widowed or separated) is a burden to her nearest relations, unless they are rich. Such a woman therefore seeks a position as temporary life-companion of a man, for thus she gets, besides a previously stipulated dowry, free lodging, food, and clothing, and, if the man has the means for it, also a slave boy or slave girl at her disposal. Even rich single women often wish in their own interest to contract a marriage so as to withdraw themselves from the influence of exploiting relations; such women give up all legal[1] claims themselves, support the husband who will protect their freedom, and can, when they wish, bring about a separation. No matter for what reason a woman wishes to

[1] Namely by oral declaration, for in the marriage contract nothing must be stipulated that annuls a legal right of either party. Thus the poorest man can always be legally compelled to support his wife who is rolling in money, while he himself has in no case any claim to a penny of hers.

get married or her relations wish to get rid of her, they need, to attain their end, the help of the gobetweens, and, as most women here contract a dozen or two dozen marriages in their lives, the social position of these women brings them into lively intercourse with all sorts of men, who from time to time come forward as go betweens.

That old beggar women and that mad women go about unveiled does not mean much; on the other hand the free intercourse of boys and girls until the eighth or tenth year is an important factor in the Mekkan life. Marriages really founded in love are often prepared in childish play. After the veil has set the stamp of her sex on the girl, the boy can still find means to let her know the continuance of his inclination; afterwards trustworthy persons communicate to her the poetical and prose outpourings of his love, and if the answer does not fail, the young man seeks in the end the approval of the parents on both sides and the marriage thereupon takes place.

Now that we have seen the conditions of the "harem", let us take a look at polygamy. In regard to this, things in Mekka are, roughly speaking, as in other Moslim lands. Only very rich people, and they rarely, avail themselves of the legal permission to have four wives at once, and in general one finds only in the highest circles those who have more than one wife. Besides various other practical difficulties against, polygamy for people of the middle and lower classes the cost of such a luxury is much too great for them. And so monogamy is the rule, and what impresses its peculiar stamp on the Moslim family is not so much polygamy as the looseness of the marriage tie: especially in a town full of foreigners like Mekka this is most important. A man can without any reason put away his wife: he is restrained therefrom by regard for the family of his wife, or by the too great expense of the inevitable new marriage and of the separation, or in rare cases by compassion for the wife herself. If such motives are not present, he decides on the separation with much less difficulty than an European would decide on breaking off his relations with his mistress; the latter finds in such relations too much resemblance with the almost indissoluble marriage, while any association of ideas between marriage, or love, and eternity lies far from the mind of the Muhammedan.

In high Mekkan circles often a boy and girl are united by their parents at the youngest marriageable age because for some reason the interests of the two families suggest the union. It would be mere chance if inclination of the husband to the wife arose in this case; nevertheless, as can be understood, such marriages are the most lasting. Commonly the husband can win for himself other objects of his affections, only then the elder wife remains as 'cousin' (*bint ʿamm*) his real proper wife. Only in the case of scandalous misconduct, or at her own request, will her 'cousin' pronounce over her the divorce formula. Next to these marriages of the higher class stand, in regard to lastingness, those of the very poorest people, for in their case two very unfortunate persons would only be made more unfortunate by the separation. Between the two extremes lie the majority of marriages, of which it may be said that the men, even without being polygamists, contract many marriages one after the other, while only in the rarest cases does the woman belong to but one man in her life.

To obtain a dissolution of marriage a woman also has some legal and many extra-legal means. Before the judge she can demand her freedom on the ground of severe illtreatment, inability of the husband to provide her with house, clothing or means of support, his impotence or madness: moreover the richer wife can often buy from her poorer husband her divorce from him. It is however a much easier way for her to make things so hot for her distasteful husband, that he, after vain attempts to maintain his authority, must himself loosen the bond.

It has already been observed that oral agreements, the validity of which is only customary, often serve to discharge one of the two parties from his or her legal obligations towards the other. Thus for instance the wife gives up her right to support, stipulates for a whole storey of the house to herself, consents that female relations of the husband should live with her, or declares herself ready to undertake the direction of the household affairs, (which she is by no means legally bound to do). Though such stipulations have no legal force, yet public opinion condemns a man who does not observe them, and justifies the other party in taking every possible vengeance. Besides, the women know the legal provisions in regard to marriage only in so far as they are favourable to themselves, and raise a hundred claims of which they can find support in 'tradition' only. Her husband is well-to-do, and there are no special reasons why

she should not make the Hajj with him: why then should he withhold from her the permission and the money for that purpose? And so he would be considered a reprobate, did he not allow her every year to make visits to the tomb of Sheikh Mahmûd, and also sometimes to go to Medina, and also to accept from time to time the invitations of her female friends to nightly entertainments and herself to invite them to such. Though all this in the eye of the Law is mere luxury, the daughter of Mekka demands it as her right, and should the husband ever get angry and abuse her for such activity, she can ironically retort on him the words of the Qur'an (2:229), "then keep her with thee in kindness, or send her away with benevolence", which, besides the *fât'hah* are the only words of the Holy Book that every Mekkan woman knows.

One of the generally recognised traditional rights of the Mekkan married woman, which are contrary to the Law, is this, that she remains in Mekka, though her husband is making long journeys into other countries; especially the women born in Mekka would cry out to Heaven if it were proposed to compel them to follow their husbands. This claim is sometimes founded on the sanctity of the desolate valley, sometimes in the praises which tradition lavishes on the dwellers therein. The learned of course mark it as a foolish custom. A real reason is this, that most Mekkan women occupy in their birthplace a peculiar independent position which they could hardly win elsewhere.

For the sake of completeness we should have included the women among the guilds of exploiters of pilgrims which we enumerated in our first section. They not only help their husbands faithfully in their business, but also work on their own account. Pilgrims who spend a few months on the pilgrimage, and those too who settle down in the country for a few years, generally wish to marry: as they habitually bring a full purse with them into the Holy City, the demand is answered by a plentiful supply. We have already seen how easily a Mekkan woman can get rid of distasteful marriage bonds: we can now understand why continual change in marriage is pleasing to most of them. Their wares in the pilgrim market are their charms; the oftener the charms are made the subject of new contracts, the better for business. The relation between demand and supply in Mekkan society is strongly influenced by the con-

course of strangers. A Mekkan man it is true does not allow himself to be beguiled by the daughters of Mekka as a stranger does, but the demand on the part of the strangers makes it easy for the Mekkan woman to stipulate for great advantages for themselves.

The foreigner who chooses to become a citizen of Mekka is besieged on all sides by offers of marriage. However capricious his taste may be, the go-betweens always have in stock what he wants. Even if he insists on paying only a small dower, there is sure to be a widow or unpretentious woman who is not exacting on this head, and if he is disinclined to costly entertainments, he can content himself with a small feast for which he has to pay little. Indeed women are to be found who will on the same evening after conclusion of the marriage contract come to the man's house without further ceremony. Sly women rely upon it that their experience and skill in intercourse with men of different kinds will enable them in a few days to befool the husband. They seek to discover the weaknesses of the men and to make a profit of their knowledge. If all goes well the man will spend within half a year on the wife's whims, or on the dress and upkeep of her poor relations, the money that was reckoned enough for all his needs for a couple of years. When the purse is empty, the woman begins at once to show the unpleasant side of her nature, until at last the husband unconsciously complying with her wishes pronounces the form of divorce over her. He must then give her support for three months, and so she has full time to seek a new wedded position with the help of her friends, if she does not prefer to allow an interval to pass during which she can live entirely for her own pleasure. Of course she is not always lucky. In this business too there are disappointments and bankruptcies. From what precedes, however, it can be understood to what ends the efforts of this woman-kind are directed.

By these conditions the women of Mekka are essentially corrupted as has been said: with the exception of the marriages in the highest and the poorest classes and of some rare happy cases, the husband and wife, according to our views are here connected only by a loose concubinage. In the sacred Law the marriage contract is described thus: the man by the discharge of certain material duties towards the woman (dowry, support, lodging, clothing, and so forth) obtains the right to sexual intercourse with her for an indefinite time. A higher, nobler conception of the marriage relation is no doubt not thereby entirely excluded. In Mekka however the

marriage relation entirely agrees with that cynical juristical definition,[2] and seldom rises to anything higher. The man strives, while still almost in boyhood, for continual increase of those enjoyments. While the early commencement, as it seems, really increases the power of enjoyment, he still seeks, with growing desire, strengthening (*meqawwiyât*) that is stimulating drugs,[3] and so wears out his constitution. If circumstances do not compel him to do otherwise, he asks from his wife as little work as possible, and only makes her represent him when absent in the supervision of the work of the slaves and slave girls. The wife meanwhile does not for an instant lose sight of the financial basis of the contract, and is even not ashamed to extort, like a 'gay woman' extra gifts from her husband during their cohabitation.

Neither legally then nor morally are the interests of the wedded pair the same. The two rather mistrust each other in this respect. To the wife belongs most of the household gear; in the first marriage this is for the most part bought for the dowry (which is her property); to later husbands she brings with her into their house somewhat repaired and supplemented effects from the last household and therefore in these cases less stress is laid on the point of the dowry. The house belongs to the husband, and the wife always has much fault to find with it as she seeks to demand a better one at his expense. In the morning the Mekkan goes himself to market and buys the eatables required for the day, beyond what is kept for a longer time, such as rice, flour, butter etc. If he has enough servants he regulates every detail of the preparation of food: men of a higher class however leave much in the hands of the female slave who looks after the kitchen, and men in a humble position do their own cooking in so far as they cannot trust their wives enough. It is an unskilful man in the lower and middle classes who does not know how to cook: does he suppose that his wife will always do this for him? The food is seldom good enough for the lady of the house, and she utters her complaints without the smallest consideration for the husband's feelings, especially as the latter often takes his meals outside or if at home without her

[2] This fact is not contradicted by the possibility, as explained above, of modifying the terms of the contract by all sorts of customary agreements.

[3] The use of which is moreover recommended by some Law authorities.

and in the company of his friends. Above all, the requirements of the wardrobe are the subject of constant dispute between the two. Fashion changes in Mekka as often as elsewhere, and if it is remembered that women are not contented unless they possess several specimens of the fine articles of clothing, so as not always to appear before their female friends in the same costume, and that gold and silver foil, gold thread and gold lace, are lavished on the borders of the trousers and jacket and on the already by itself very costly headcloth (*medawwarah*), it can be understood that this subject of dress is a subject of terror to the husband. If he protests against the expense the wife sets him down as a miser, or thinks that he is bestowing his favours on some other woman whom he has married without telling her. Her jealousy of such another woman has regard only to the presents and other material advantages that thus slip away from her, and this is the chief reason why the husband keeps such a second union as long as possible secret. It hardly ever comes to a quarrel between the wives of a Mekkan for they never live together in one lodging. The Law entitles each wife to her own lodging, and they appeal to this provision as soon as ever they are tired of the at first tolerated society of the female relations of their husbands: the husband would himself never think of proposing that his wife should live together with another wife. In this respect also the European idea of the "harem" needs correction.

If on the one hand the husband is interested in not allowing his wife to be exactly informed about his means, on the other she herself is extremely reserved about such matters towards him. She fears that his avarice may increase if he knows that she has some money, and this money of hers is no concern of his, for the marriage contract gives only to the wife any claim to money. It often happens indeed that wives who have seen better days with their husbands, when the latter fall into poverty, waive their rights and share their savings. Therewith however this abuse is connected that the husband seeks for himself the advantages of both parties to the contract, pretending that he has no means and thus getting from the wife besides his marriage rights also his food. Therefore the Mekkan women prefer to bury their money underground or entrust it to good friends rather than bring it into the nuptial dwelling.

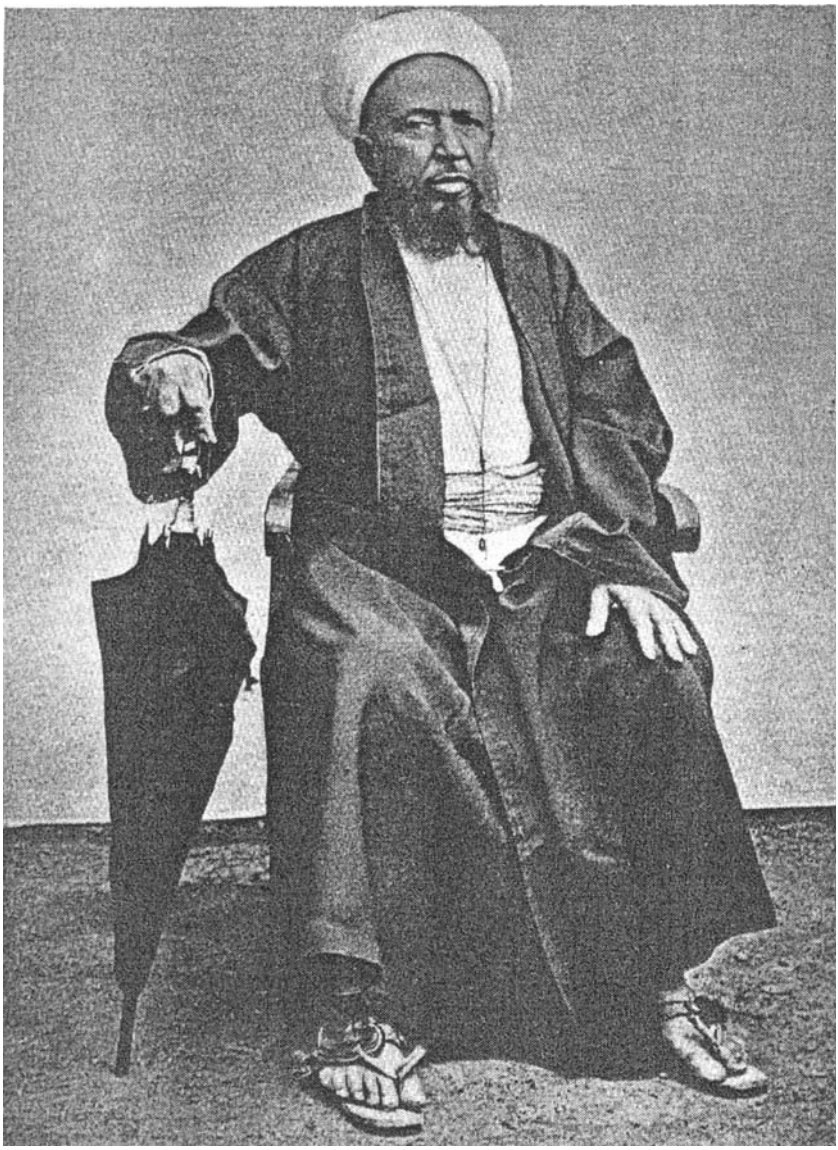
Hard enough are the rules laid down by the average Mekka

husband as to the frequency of the visits which the wife may receive from her female relations and friends. The latter become more impudent on the occasion of each concession made by him and the object of their visits is indeed merely exploitation in some form. So most married Mekkan couples share together neither joy nor sorrow, neither good nor bad, outside of the bed.

Among women the young girl is brought up, and the moral of the talk that she hears from youth upwards is: our capital is the marriage enjoyment: it is well for her who gets good interest on it. They are precocious, and they employ their very often considerable intellectual gifts in sharpening the arms which they have to employ in their struggle for existence with the men. The few women whose education has given their life another direction, and also the acrimony shown by the other kind of women towards these well brought up ones with whom they can do no 'business' are evidence of the treasures of noble endowment that here are continually going to waste. Still the men are almost all convinced that these exceptions are miracles and that the women (as indeed many traditions and all books of the Law teach) beyond bodily attractions have only satanic qualities; to spend trouble on their education would be throwing pearls before swine.

It is no wonder if under these circumstances the married woman, when her husband neglects her or treats her only as a piece of furniture, puts her capital out at interest outside the bonds of the contract. She has so much to gain thereby. What she cannot get from her husband in a whole year, the lover bestows on her in a month, and also thanks her for each favour she has shown him. Also forbidden fruit tastes sweet, and the consciousness of grievous sin is far from the woman, for she has neither been impressed with moral principles nor with a sound knowledge of the Law. She knows indeed that it is *harâm* (forbidden), but 'I pray God for pardon'! how many things that are also harâm are still done by quite decent gentlemen! and I am only a woman. Enough. The practical morality of Mekkan society is in regard to breaches of marriage contract by women as indulgent as that of Europe in regard to licentiousness of men, while in Mekka the sins of men are much more severely judged.

So the man is glad to be continually changing his wife as he ever seeks for something better, while the woman knows how to make herself tolerably comfortable in most situations. Let it be here expressly stated that also more favourable instances are not wanting,



A MEKKA PHYSICIAN

but the characteristic note of the usual Mekkan marriage is the seamy-sidedness that we have above depicted.

Besides the marriage joy a man of any shrewdness will obtain through his wife much experience of life and knowledge of men, for the daughters of Mekka have much more of those acquirements than the sons, and they are ready to impart of their store; thus they are the family physicians whose advice is first sought in all cases of illness. Generally they have their own little home drug store and always a knowledge of the healing virtue of some herbs and spices that can be got at any spice dealer. Healing, sorcery, and exorcism are connected together, as are diseases, evil spirits, the evil eye, and so forth; in the women however an acquaintance only with the commonest diseases and their treatment is expected. For general 'malaise' they prepare their triple cure (*mitallat*) composed of iris root (*banèfsèj*), yeast, and some third ingredient. For fevers they make of coriander, a kind of zizyphus fruit (*'unnâb Bukhârî*), and brown Egyptian sugar an infusion which they call *merawwaq* and which is supposed to regulate the circulation of the blood: against cold, infusions of mint or of blossom of *dhurm*, or *dôsh*, are used: sore eyes are rubbed with a solution of a dark brown resin (*sabir* or *sibr*) in lemon water, while a similar solution of *shabb Nûbî* (said to be composed of carbonate of natrum and bicarbonate of natrum with the addition of some coarse salt and some sand) is drunk. The recipes of the ladies are essentially the same as those of the doctors, only that the latter have a larger choice of ingredients and can bring in some hocus-pocus and recommend a diet.

Medicine is here still always learnt like any other trade; the son, nephew, or unrelated apprentice takes up the art of the father, uncle or master. When barbers, who also always do some bloodletting, cupping, and such simple gory operations, take upon themselves too much of the practice of medicine, this is considered poaching or interloping, though people do not consider that this study demands a man's whole efforts, for a highly esteemed doctor whom I knew in Mekka, is also acquainted with watchmaking and gun-mending, the distillation of fragrant oils, the gold or silver plating of trinkets, the manufacture of rattles, die stamping, and (this is a speciality of his) the smelting of gold and silver ores. With all this he surpasses as a doctor most of his competitors.

Like all his colleagues he feels pulses, looks at tongues and eyes' listens to the sound of the hands (as the popular belief requires), and shows his skill by this, that he does not discover all the sensations of his patients by inquiries but decisively and confidently declares, "You have a pain in such a part of the body". By these pronouncements people recognise the real doctor. The simple-minded patients do not notice that they themselves have made this discovery possible by their conversation with other patients waiting for their turn; like his colleagues our friend says "You have a 'fluxion' (*nawâzil*), a general term for all sorts of diseases arising from colds, or 'winds' (*aryâh*) which comprises all sorts of maladies that lie in the blood and declare themselves by eruptions, congestions, tumours, and so forth"; "you have constipation" (*qabḍ*), weakness, phthisis (*ḍuʿf*), or other less wellknown words that are introduced at the proper time when a clear understanding of the case fails. Then too he orders a diet (*himyah*); recommends the avoidance of food of a 'hot', a 'cold', a 'damp', or a 'dry' nature, the eating of leavened (*khamîrah*) or unleavened (*fetîrah*) bread, and in the end gives a purge (*shèrbah*) or prescribes a decoction for which the necessary ingredients are to be had at the perfumers, or else he hands a well-to-do patient some medicine of his own, of which he makes a great secret and on which he sets a great price. Occasionally also he will perform a cautery, the healing effect of which (especially on the temples) is generally recognised in cases of congestions, tumours, and bad wounds, which cautery is also, for lack of anatomical knowledge, used for broken limbs when they are being set, and this in spite of the holy tradition which repeatedly records the strong dislike of the Prophet for the cauterising operation. This doctor will himself apply leeches, but he leaves the other methods of bloodletting to the barbers, though the profitable employ of the clyster does not appear to him at all degrading.

Besides these professional activities our friend also has special departments in which he has founded his fame; he is an ophthalmologue, that is to say he couches for cataract and cures by surgery the very common swelling on the eyelid which often results in blindness if not treated in time. Wonders are related of the cures performed by him,[4] how he has cleaned out by his clysters and

[4] A little electric machine used for all diseases, and especially for strengthening certain functions, has contributed a good deal to his fame.

then by 40 days of exclusively milk diet built up his patients again to strength and vigour, and how he has cured all stomach pains by his hot drink distilled of *nânekhâ* (ammium). What does it concern the Mekkans that this eminent man has no notion of the functions of the body, nor of the effects of his own medicines? One fortunate result in a hundred attempts is enough to make their confidence unshakeable: the remaining 99 cases are put down to Allah.

If it is said that the Turkish military doctors are more reliable, then all Mekka objects that they are irreligious, and do not know how to deal with Mekkans, and however learned they may be, know nothing of the needs of the local climate; otherwise how could they be so opposed to the customary bloodletting, and cupping, and even strictly forbid their soldiers to have recourse to these wholesome operations? Franks are they: may God cut them off!

Although our local doctor, for his own interest inflames the general dislike of the modern Turkish doctors, yet he does not disdain to learn something from them on the sly, and indeed the difference between him and them is only one of degree and not of principle. If people tell him of the power of Jinn and other evil spirits, and present to him sick men as suffering from the evil eye or from the *Zâr* (see below p. 100), he does not deny this publicly, but prescribes means to set right natural disturbances of the organism. So in the public eye he stands for the representative of tradition against the too bold human knowledge, but in his own circle for a man of understanding and natural science; so most people are not willing to go to him at once when the women's medical knowledge fails. They have all been brought up by the women from their infancy, and the women cherish and hand down all sorts of superstitions with much deeper conviction than they do their own scanty science.

It is Islam, the official religion, that fuses together the discordant elements of the constantly fluctuating Mekkan society. On the other hand it is this society which sweeps together into one chaotic whole prejudices and superstitions deriving from all parts of the world. The greater share in this syncretistic task falls to the lot of the women; their livelier fancy inclines them to it, and their inclination is seldom counteracted by an exact acquaintance with the sacred lore. Moreover, as is well known, a considerable quantity

of superstition has by assimilation become the common property of the Moslim world.

In Mekka the Moslim West (Tunis, Algiers and Morocco) is considered the parent land of the grossest superstitions that have been locally adopted. Especially the art of bringing disease and all sorts of mischief upon enemies is regarded as North West African. As possessors of articles of magic and of preservatives (*'azîmah's*) against evil spirits the inhabitants of the East Indian Archipelago are also renowned. The reason for this proficiency of the Jâwah is found in the fact that their land swarms with these man-destroying supernatural beings, so that the population have had the opportunity to learn the evil tricks of the Jinn and have been obliged to equip themselves against them. Again, the African slavewomen, and the Indians, are held by the learned Mekkans especially responsible for the fact that their holy town has become a nest of superstitions. We have, however, already had occasion to refer to several remnants of old Arabian heathendom; much of the sort was observed in the cult of the saints and in the disguised stone-worship.

The custom of stone throwing has of old maintained itself outside the Muna Valley, where Islam has legalised the throwing on to three stone heaps. The tomb of Abû Lahab is still to the present day stoned. On the Jeddah — Mekka Road between Jeddah and Bahrah there are two stone heaps to which the passer-by of the lower class always contributes his stone. The legend is that a pastrycook in Mekka asserted that he could by fast running take a plate of fresh baked cakes (called *zalâbiyah*) hot to Jeddah, but forgot to add the form "God willing"; so when he arrived at that spot he was struck dead as a punishment. The other heap is explained by a similar legend of a pastrycook running from Jeddah towards Mekka with a plate of tarts (called *kunâfah*). Whence the two heaps are respectively called *az-Zalâbânî* and *al-Kunâfânî*.

Learned men indeed unreservedly admit that not every superstition has been imported by non-Arabs into Mekka. They know for instance that the Hadramî,[5] otherwise brought up in strict orthodoxy, has a certain cult for the place where he hides his money from strange eyes. People who have no iron safes, keep in Mekka their money under the ground or in a special covered hole made for the

[5] Hadramaut, a country in South Arabia on the Indian Ocean, already mentioned in the Bible.

purpose in the wall. The thrifty Hadrami then thinks that he must for his good-luck 1^0 remain unacquainted with the amount of the coins that have been gradually put by; 2^0 take nothing from the receptacle until he takes out the whole amount for the purpose of some business. In great need he will rather borrow from his friends than desecrate the shrine. If it is absolutely necessary, however, he approaches the wall with burning incense and rosewater, takes the indispensable money out with the expression of face of a pickpocket, and says: "Take it not amiss Oh Lord: it is for a few days only, etc." At the appointed time he replaces what he has borrowed with a *haqq al-qahwa* ('coffee-money', or 'pour-boire') in addition!

An old pundit was once very angry with our above-mentioned doctor because the latter jokingly rejected the theory that it was Jinn who were every evening throwing stones at the Grand Sherîf's band. No wonder then that the unlearned masses in every uncommon event, especially diseases, see the work of the spirit world. The explanation to which the uncultivated have recourse in such cases is magic of which the reality is recognised by Islam, though its practice is forbidden; the cultivated pious man goes to mystic sheikhs or their heirs, the latter being men who possess approved recipes, amulets, or other healing objects which have been handed down from their forefathers.

When a Mekkan strips to his shirt, and this happens often enough on account of the heat, one sees through the transparent stuff, hanging down by a string from his shoulder on his naked back a row of many coloured little bags (*'azîmahs* or *hijâbs*). These are magic formulae against all sorts of evils, prepared by saints and handed down by tradition. Similar formulae are worn by children, hung over their clothes in little silver boxes. On the children, when they go about naked, old coins are also hung for the same purpose, and mothers too set great store on having three scars (*meshâlî*) made on both cheeks of their children as a protection against the evil eye. If a Mekkan wears on his little finger a smooth white metal ring, this is either a protection against, or has been a cure of, the very widespread disease of haemorrhoids. If in spite of all precautions he falls ill, and the wife knows no remedy, then it is sought to scare away the powers of darkness by fumigation of the room with mastic (*mustaka*), or other such fragrance, and they do not fail at the same time to interest the Prophet and Khadîjah in

them by vows addressed to them. If all this does not avail, then recourse is had to a pious sheikh who after a diagnosis writes some letters or words on a piece of paper which he orders to be burnt; the patient, having been prepared by pious ejaculations, must swallow the ashes dissolved in water and then recovers 'if it is the will of God!'. There are of course collections of the recipes (*mujarrabât*, "probata") of earlier sheikhs, but their successors continually proclaim that the formulae, the paper, and so forth, are useful only when received from a good hand after the bestower of them has himself uttered the appropriate prayers. It is only after exhausting the numberless modes of this kind that the average Mekkan goes to a doctor.

The children too until they reach maturity are repeatedly fumigated, which partly explains the great mortality in the world of the little ones. Under the pillow of a sick child the mother lays seven loaves (*aqrâs*, plur. of *qurs*) and when the child has slept on them one night, they are thrown to the dogs, whereupon the cure, to the mother's never failing great astonishment, generally fails. After this and similar disappointments it is believed that the evil eye has hit the child so that the charms have remained without effect. A specific against the evil eye is supposed to be fumigation with an ill-smelling resinous plant named *fasûkh*, which is burnt with some salt in a brazier; the bewitched one must thrice fumigate his hands therewith, thrice his face, and thrice his feet; seven times must he step over the brazier so that the smoke may quite impregnate him, and for the rest he must then trust God. The Mekkans lose much of the pleasure of life through their fear of the eye. Goods in store are protected against it by hanging up an old sandal on the boundary or entrance of the place. As a person who is in possession of the eye often himself knows nothing of it, you can never take hold of another's child or any beautiful object belonging to another, nor enter a cheerful social gathering without first pronouncing the neutralising formula *mâ shâ Allâh, tabâraka 'llâh* "As God wills, blessed be God".

In many cases however the evil eye is connected with a conscious envy, and the envier has recourse to magic against his object if his eye does not suffice for the attainment of his hostile purpose. A secretly buries a magic formula under B's house, which he himself had wished to buy, so that the house may be destroyed by fire; he scratches mystic signs on the wall of the house in which

C. is living as husband with the woman whom he (A) loves, so that there may be enmity between the married couple. And so it is advisable, when you have bought a beautiful slave girl, at once to change her name, for the magic is generally directed to the name of the person, and, if that is changed, misses. He who is taking a new house should first of all calculate the favourable time for it, which is indeed true for all important transactions; but this does not suffice unless he, before actually moving into the new house, has it thoroughly fumigated and has some professional Qur'an-reciters to recite the whole Qur'an in it, for only thus can the evil powers be driven out. To recount all the permitted and unpermitted superstitious usages of the Mekkans would be to catalogue fragments of the superstition of all Moslim lands, fragments which through syncretism have lost much of their distinctive peculiarities. As the women, with whom we commenced, take the leading share in preparing for use the imported articles and mixing them with what is already here, their intercourse with the spirit world now claims our attention for a moment.

Whenever there are evil spirits they, as is well known, direct their malice chiefly against the maternal joys. In Mekka the spirits in the first place try to stop childbearing. Therefore the women who desire this blessing get a belt written over and spoken over by an approved sheikh, and get rules laid down how and when copulation is to take place, so that with the help of this girdle round their bodies the act may be fruitful. When now the much desired child, for whom also during pregnancy a hard struggle has been fought with the spirits, at last, greeted with endless *hocus pocus* and much fumigation, comes into the world, then a new infliction begins. A considerable number of the new-born succumb to the many childish diseases: especially, if they have first seen the light in the cooler season, the first period of heat is full of danger and there is less hope of preserving their life than if they had been born sometime under the influence of the *Sumbulah* (the Virgo of the Zodiac). Especially the children of foreign mothers have a hard time to go through; I have known many Abyssinian slave women who have borne five to ten children merely to bury them, and few who have reared to the full age such a number. Often the mother's milk fails or is not nourishing enough. Who now causes

all this evil? It is the *Umm as-Sibyân* (Mother — euphemism for Enemy — of the Children) alias the *Qarînah* (Companion). The female monsters that bear this name never allow the mother the joy of maternity, and sometimes attack the child directly, sometimes take from the mother the power of nourishing it. In such cases people are the more inclined to have recourse to exorcism or magic as in truth the art of the physicians is of no avail. The usual means recommended by the latter to stop the sucklings crying for hunger is a mixture in which the chief ingredient is the poppy seed (*habbèt èn-nôm* or *bizr èl-khishkhâsh*); the mother must take this mixture, and the child then gets somewhat quieter until it dies.

Another species of spirits that gives trouble to nearly all women are the *Zâr*. The struggle with the Zâr exemplifies the saddest and gayest sides of the lives of the Mekkan women. The real Zâr in our profane language, are some of them certain forms of madness, and some of them hysterical attacks; she who to-day has a Zâr would in old Arabia have generally been called *majnûn* (possessed of jinn). To-day majnûn means 'mad' without any idea of the working of spirits. From youth upwards the women hear so many tales told of the Zâr that when they are attacked by the diseases mentioned, those diseases generally take in their view the form of the dominion of the Zâr over the will of the individual. In some cases this dominion shows itself in the woman being thrown at certain times to the ground and lying there for hours in convulsions; sometimes she appears to be suffering from some known disease, which however now and then passes away suddenly leaving only the pale colour and the wide-strained, open eyes. Sometimes the patient is during the attacks as though wild and raging. Learned men, doctors, and in general most of the men are always inclined to employ either medicine or else orthodox religious exorcism of the Satanic powers; the female friends and relations on the other hand advise unconditionally the calling in of an old woman who is versed in dealings with the Zâr[6] (a 'Sheikhat èz-Zâr'), and they in the end overcome all resistance.

'Zâr' occur among all the nations that are represented in Mekka, for though they may at home be called otherwise they soon here take on the local name, which is derived from the Ethiopian, and shows that the superstition was introduced by Abyssinian slaves.

[6] The word 'Zâr' has no plural.

But national distinctions are still maintained, which must also in practice be considered. There is, for instance, a Maghrebin (North-West African), a Sudanese, an Abyssinian, and a Turkish method of driving out the Zâr, of which each can only be used in defined cases, but it cannot be denied that the testing of the nationality of the Zâr almost always leads the called in Sheikhah to the result that her method is the correct one in the case. The Sheikhah does not put questions to the sick woman herself, but to the Zâr who is lodged in her body;[7] sometimes the dialogue is in common language and so can be understood by the bystanders, but often the speakers use the Zâr language, which can be understood by no one without the interpretation of the Sheikhah. Essentially there is little difference to be observed in the results of such conversations. At the repeated request of the Sheikhah the Zâr declares himself willing to depart, on a certain day on the performance of the customary ceremonies, but stipulates for certain conditions. He demands a beautiful new dress, sold or silver ornaments, or the like. As he himself, however, escapes human perception, his wish can only be gratified by the articles mentioned being bestowed upon the sick body which he inhabits. It is touching also to see how the evil spirits consider the age, taste, or needs of the possessed people. On the day on which the departure of the spirit is to take place, the invited female friends of the sick woman come to her in the afternoon or evening and are regaled with coffee, tea, pipes, and also often with food: the Sheikhah and her slave girls, who must attend these functions with beat of drum and with a species of song, partake of the refreshments and prepare for their work.

It is easy to perceive that this work very rarely means the expulsion of real Zâr; fine clothes and nice parties are what the Mekkan women love above all things, and they are shrewd enough to act at the same time the part of the Zâr and the possessed ones: this disease-comedy has however actually become an endemic sickness. It would be necessary to keep a woman away from all intercourse with other women in order to preserve her from this infection: just as it may be said: "I must go tomorrow to the wedding of such a one", so on another day it is said: "I am going to such a one, for this evening she has a Zâr" (the word is used for the company that attends the exorcism as well as for the evil spirit

[7] It is not clear to which sex the Zâr belong, but males are generally immune from them.

itself). Nay, some too even give away the show and say to their husbands: "It is high time for me to give a Zâr for I have been to so many at my friends". "What is the use of all his objections, and how can he use his legal right to prevent his wife from leaving the house, when he knows that she upon his refusal will behave like a madwoman until he gives way or divorces her? And what is the use of a divorce when he cannot do otherwise than marry another who similarly after a short time commences her Zâr? The Zâr in fact is just as much a necessity of life to most women as tobacco or the gold or gilded embroidery of their trousers.

The above-mentioned doctor had certainly discovered a strong specific against the Zâr. When his young wife shortly after her marriage began to behave somewhat peculiarly and to receive secret visits of a Sheikhat èz-Zâr, he made arrangements to meet the Sheikhah on the stairs of his house, forced her against all the harem-laws to declare herself, and threatened her with death if she ever appeared there again. He then went to his wife, who had just been having a slight attack, and told her she evidently had the Zâr and so he meant to drive it out of her once for all. He had a brazier brought, heated his firing iron red hot, and mumbled to himself that devils were created from fire, and could therefore only be fought by fire: that the difficulty was to find the spot of the skin under which they were lurking; and that until that was found the whole surface of the body must be touched with hot iron '*mèkwa*'. The woman had already recovered before the cure, and begged her husband's pardon, and thought she could assure him the Zâr had left her for good.[8] Such a case, however, is exceptional. Very few

[8] Our doctor still knew how to make some profit out of superstition; when anything had been stolen and the thief could not be discovered, the victims would often come to him and induce him by a present to employ his inherited magic ʿazîmah. This consisted in a key being fastened into a silk cloth in which an old Qur'an was wrapped up. The ends of the key were then lifted up by the doctor and one of his sons by the tips of their forefingers so that the Qur'an swung freely in the air. Then he put pieces of paper (in each of which the name of a suspected thief was written) one after the other into the Qur'an, and for each piece of paper recited a mysterious formula. As soon as the key began to turn, the name on the piece of paper then found in the Qur'an would be that of the thief. As however the victims had first to dictate the names of the suspected persons, the shrewd doctor had time enough to form a probable theory of what had happened, and then the key adapted itself thereto. Often the men whom this performance had made easy in their minds came back disappointed a few days later as the Government authority had received their communication with laughter and refused to act on it. Then the doctor would say that was quite right, such detection should be used privately, not officially. Once it was declared as the result of the ceremony that the

men venture on such energetic steps, as most women would at once run away, or use every means to ruin their husband's reputation.

Not less than the coming on of the Zâr has his expulsion also become a comedy. Therefore, and also through syncretism, has exorcism in Mekka become a mixture of various incantations and ceremonies with arbitrarily added accessories. The possessed woman puts on the clothes for which the Zâr stipulates; the slave girls of the Sheikhah beat on the drums their peculiar witches' march, the Sheikhah pats according to rules the possessed body. All sorts of strange performances then follow, which make this heathenish ceremonial still more distasteful to the pious learned; for instance, a sheep is slaughtered and the forehead and other parts of the woman smeared with its blood. The visible signs of successful exorcism are fixed beforehand according to each method of treatment. The possessed woman must dance, swaying her body to and fro, or fall into a faint, and so the moment comes when the murmuring Sheikhah says: "The Zâr has left her". Sometimes it happens that this step is not marked until the second or third night, to the increased joy of the invited ladies. Also in some cases the dancing fever seizes the company, in which phenomenon a little genuine contagion is mixed with much farce. A young woman who much disliked these doings told me that often on such occasions she alone and a few others would remain free from such contagion, whereupon the rest would say jokingly: "What! have you not yet got the Zâr?"

It is no rare thing for all the prosperity and even the means of support of a middle class family to be sacrificed to the Zâr. Quite a second place to the wide-spread mischief is taken by the belief that certain houses are bewitched (*maskûn* — inhabited),[9] the fear of all sorts of dangerous invisible creatures and similar superstitions.

---

doctor's own nephew, a mu'addhin, had abstracted something from his mother, and the nephew confessed it repentantly. Also magnetism and hypnotism (*ḍarb al-mèndèl*) were practised by the doctor with astonishing success.

[9] The spirit in this case is called Dweller (*sâkin*). We may mention here the widespread belief, that if a man after prayer does not at once fold up the prayer carpet, the devil will take his place and perform his devotions on that spot. A means used by women for assuring themselves of the future or of the otherwise unknown is what follows: In some mutton they look for a little bone which is nearly of the shape of the upper section of the thumb; this they clean, wrap up in cloth, and keep till Saturday night: then they drone out a formula which begins with the words "Yâ Sabt yâ sabbûta", put the bone under their pillow and go to sleep in the certain expectation of a fully enlightening dream.

In the department of practical healing however, the women are distinguished by one aptitude which inclines the men to regard with some indulgence the poverty of their family medicine chest and the mischief caused by their superstition. I refer to the *tèkbîs* or massage. This method, which has lately risen to high favour in Europe has been practised from of old in Arabia, without scientific principles it is true, but with frequent astonishing success. In the evening professional 'kneaders' of Indian extraction are accustomed to go through the streets and invite by their cry '*kabûs*' the men sitting in the public coffee houses, or in the halls of dwellings, to avail themselves of their services. People who are at all overwrought in mind or body submit to their *tèkbîs*, which at first is not pleasant, but gradually becomes so, and at last brings a feeling of complete recovery. But besides these professional masseurs almost every woman, free or slave, has dabbled in the art, and many men are so accustomed to massage that they can hardly go to sleep without it. In many a house the slave girl performs massage on her mistress, and the latter again on her husband, while the slave girls and the young women of the family perform it on one another. If a man, who is fairly intimate with a woman, wishes to entice her to illicit things,[10] a common preliminary is his request: "By God — I am unwell; give me a massage".

Not only for the general relaxed state which is so common in the Mekka climate, but also for organic pains, is this kneading a useful remedy, or at least a temporary palliative. I have seen people relieved for a few hours of violent toothache which had swollen out their faces.

Lastly, the ladies always diligently seek means to enhance their charms. Their means are twofold:[11] 1^0 those that make their exterior attractive and are within the department of the professional 'beautifiers'; 2^0 those which in a more special sense excite sexual pleasure. Instruction as to the latter means is given by the midwives who are employed in various other matters outside midwifery. As at

[10] A language of gestures is much used between men and women in neighbouring houses. That offers the advantage that a respectable woman has no opportunity of complaining of overtures made to her, as the man is always able to deny, and to express his astonishment at the woman having given a bad meaning to the involuntary movements of his hands.

[11] This subject of cosmetics is exhaustively and finally dealt with in Lane's "Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians".

least half of the unions here are pure concubinage and are regularly expected to be dissolved after some time, both parties often wish to avoid permanent results of the cohabitation. Often in such unions as well as in the case of slave girls in great houses, an entirely unexpected pregnancy occurs. Artificial abortion is variously regarded by the canonical authorities so long as it takes place before the end of the fourth month. At a later date it is condemned by them all. The *dâyah*'s (midwives) however make no difficulty about extirpating the fruit[12] of the womb at any time. Strong negresses often attain the result by repeatedly throwing themselves on to the ground. Finer organisations are treated by the midwives with drugs which are mostly introduced into the uterus. In their superstitious bondage to the letter of the Law they never use these means on a Friday evening for that would be a double sin: when the drugs have done their work, the woman goes to the mosque and distributes as a sin offering some pieces of bread among the beggars[13] of the sacred mosque (*Haram*).

It will thus be understood that there is a much livelier demand for preservatives against fruitfulness than for means for its encouragement. Some of those preservatives are sold by the doctors and used by the men.[14] Most however are introduced by the midwives into the same part as the means for procuring abortion. The midwives are so sure of the success of their treatment that they habitually make contracts binding themselves to return the money if the drugs fail of their desired effect. Each of these midwives has her own special ingredients, the compounding of which is her secret, a secret imparted only to her slave girls; by one mode of treatment unfruitfulness for a fixed time[15] (1, 2 or 3 years) is obtained, by another pregnancy is rendered for ever impossible. The woman in this latter case expresses the wish to be made into a *baghlah* or female mule.

The subjects above touched upon form among Mekkans who are

---

[12] This is generally called *bizrah* which word also means small child. The plural *bezûrah* means all childern of an age at which they are fond of playthings.

[13] *Jerrârîn* (see Ch. I, p. 28) and other beggars are always present in the *Haram* to obtain charity from pilgrims or a share in the distribution of bread, to which pious persons have bound themselves by vows or otherwise. As soon as a servant with a plate full of loaves enters the mosque, he is surrounded on all sides by the *shahhâtîn* (see Ch. I, p. 4) who struggle for the booty like dogs.

[14] Sunt pillulae in oblongam formam redactae quas ante coitum in glandem penis introducunt.

[15] Such preservatives for a fixed time are called *tasbîrah*.

at all well acquainted the half of their daily conversation with one another and are treated, not only in general terms, but so that each one brings forward his most private experiences. It is therefore quite wrongly that Europeans often assert that Moslims make a mystery of all that concerns the harîm. On the contrary, matters touching sexual life are spoken of without reserve among friends, or even by fathers before their sons, which with us a man would at the most communicate only to his doctor, or would even, out of respect for his wife, withhold from the doctor. The Moslim carefully avoids all talk that could give occasion for undesired relations of others with his wives, and in this respect he is of course more guarded and more anxious than the European. But the boundary between what is allowed and what is not allowed in talk is fixed differently than for us, and their range is decidedly wider than ours. The false impressions of European travellers are due precisely to the difference of boundaries; the Moslim knows that the European has entirely different views of decency and morality in regard to marriage, and therefore avoids speaking of these things with him, just as among us conversation halts between people of different religions when it gets on to supernatural matters.

If the Mekkan marriage is in many cases, in our view, equivalent to concubinage, so on the other hand many connexions which approach nearest to a European marriage are regarded in Mekka as concubinage. If the Mekkan expresses himself openly, he will confess that his heart can belong to hardly any Mekkan woman but can well belong to a slave woman. An imprudent man once expressed himself before me with real enthusiasm in this sense, while his wife was walking up and down in the next room; when she then began to cough nervously, he changed his tone and said that everything was only relative and that there was nothing more precious than the freeborn daughter of the people (*bint en-nâs* — which in the language of Mekka denotes freeborn female, while *wèlèd en-nâs* denotes a freeborn male). All this however was mere make-believe, and that was not misunderstood even by the wife.

The physical advantages of the slave-women are here generally recognised, and indeed the darker their colour the higher is the degree of the sexual attractiveness. I have known a very rich man, who could get almost anything in the way of *harîm* that the wished, dissolved in tears because a pitch-black negress whom he had shortly before bought was willing to comply with his wishes in almost all

things, but in one thing not. And here with decent people the principle holds good: all can be got by force except one thing. The above mentioned (see page 12, note 2) pitch black son of the rich Indian merchant was the fruit of the more fortunate inclination of this man towards his black kitchenmaid. In short in the purely sexual regard, all Mekkans are full of the praises of the daughters of Ham. Only the low culture and certain peculiarities of the negro character put a limit after some time to this inclination. The negress who has excited this passion of her master generally profits by it for her whole life, for each pregnancy makes the slave woman inalienable and free after her master's death, but this concubinage has no resemblance to a marriage.

Though the Mekkan may sometimes run after Mekkan women or get infatuated with negresses, yet his real enthusiasm is reserved for Abyssinian women (*hubûsh*).[16] If the ordinary Mekkan followed his inclination, he would unite himself only to Abyssinians; it is, however, part of the 'convenances' that a man should at least once in his life marry a freeborn woman, and people of small means can pay a few dollars as dowry for a wife but not a hundred or two for a slave. So it comes about that a man either brings up a slave girl from her youth or gets one out of a good house. Elderly ladies of good position, especially such as are mistresses of their houses (*bint ʿamm*) but not of the hearts of their husbands, are glad to buy several quite young girls in order to occupy themselves with their education. They send them to school, have them taught spinning, knitting and so forth, and treat them as their daughters. When some of these girls have grown up together on this footing, disagreements gradually arise between them, and their mistress sees that the time has come to get a situation for this one or the other. A good "situation" for an Abyssinian girl is concubinage with a good master. These girls themselves generally prefer to enter a large and fashionable household, for they there find many companions and a cheerful life full of variety, but their lot is in the long rung happier if they find a master with a somewhat elderly wife and, besides her, only menial slaves, male or female. With the man of comparatively humble position who has just enough to

[16] Among these slave women the story of the curse of Ham as the origin of slavery is current in various forms. Very wide-spread is the naive tale that Adam and Eve were going about naked in Paradise when of all the girls present only the Abyssinian girls and some negresses laughed at them, and therefore they were turned into a slave race.

buy and keep an Abyssinian woman, she must at the same time fill the position of wife and work slave, and this is too hard in this climate. If her master brings her into the house of a spouse who still has pretensions, then the Hagar meets an often very cruel Sara, and has to fear bad treatment every time that the master leaves the house. Therefore such a master hires a small separate dwelling for the concubine so that the lawful wife (*bint ʿamm*) may know nothing of her. Only in large houses must the wife be tolerant in this regard; there the girls distribute between themselves all kinds of work, and the space conditions withdraw the master's amours from all control of the wife. No matter how fleeting his connection may be with one of the many handmaidens (*jawâr* plur. of *jâriyah*), he would be condemned by public opinion if he sent her away after such connexion.

A slave girl who has not been brought up by her master from her childhood in his house is never bought as a virgin, even if she has not had a situation before. Her owner or some relation of her mistress deflowers her as soon as she has reached the age (12 to 14 years), and the buyer would look upon it as suspicious if that had not been done. Now no man may live with a slave girl who does not belong to him, and transgressions of this law are even practically regarded as grave misdemeanours; so a rigid distinction is made between the slave girls of the wife and those of the husband, and in ordinary families the wife takes care to have ugly ones. An exception however is made for slave girls brought up by their mistress, or the fiction is resorted to that she has bestowed her girl on her son, cousin, nephew, or the like, and has then taken her back the next day.

In other matters too the holy law of concubinage is much transgressed. Thus a man who has bought a concubine should, as is well known, wait a certain time before cohabitation, so that there may be no doubt about the parentage of children. This rule is however confessedly too hard for the Mekkans: it is much for them to wait even two or three days, though the rule of allowing a woman an interval between two marriages is practically respected. Furthermore, it happens that the harmony between master and concubine is not lasting, while, on account of pregnancy the connexion is indissoluble. In this case the man should set the concubine free so that she may later contract a marriage; only scoundrels deny their children so as to be able again to sell the slave girl. It is not rare,

however, for the denial to be made at the urgent request of the girl herself, for if she gets married she is exposed to the daily danger of a divorce and would perhaps fall into serious trouble. She prefers then to remain a slave until she finds a sympathetic master and he and she have reared children together. And so concubines are often inclined to use the temporary preservative against fruitfulness but not the perpetual ones.

Of a black female slave (negress) the highest ideal is to work in a good house so long as her strength allows it, for then in her old age she is affectionately cared for; to attract the passing inclination of her master, whereby in the case of pregnancy a fairly happy existence is secured for her; to be given as a wife to a freed slave whereby she gets an opportunity to obtain an independent position; or again to be married to another free man), which is not so rare as might be supposed.

The aim of the Abyssinian woman is a lasting connexion with a Mekkan to whom she, if her good intellectual and moral gifts have not been spoilt by her upbringing, becomes a true life companion. She has not, like the wife, interests contrary to those of the husband, and her thoughts are far from exploitation. Her highest wish is to attach the man to her and to prepare for him a happy home. The well brought up Abyssinian women are excellent housekeepers, modest, unpretending women, and they put all their good qualities at the service of their lord. The high esteem in which they are held by the Mekkan men is most clearly shewn by the many cases in which an Abyssinian woman has borne him from five to twelve children, and the children are the best pledge of the continuance of their parents' happiness. As mother of one or more Mekkans she belongs to Mekkan society as a virtually free member, though nominally her slavery continues. If her master sets her free, then she marries only on condition that her position is equal to that of a free born Mekkan woman, and as such a free born woman in case of need flees to her relations, so does the Abyssinian woman find a safe refuge in her children.

Theoretically these children stand on an equal footing in every respect with those born from free mothers; in practice they are generally preferred to the latter. In general it may be said that in every well-to-do family sons of both kinds of mothers, the free and the slave woman, are represented, but no difference in appearance nor in mutual behaviour can be observed by the stranger.

The reader will now have made an approximate picture of the different varieties of family that occur in Mekkan households; it would be still more difficult to go into further detail in this regard than it was in regard to the dwellings themselves. We now pass to some of the more important points of time in the life of the family so far as these are more or less solemnized. After all that we have said about the composition of the population, it is hardly necessary to notice that on the outskirts of the society which have been least assimilated to the inner parts there are continually all sorts of divergences from the details of the rule.

The first important day in the life of the individual is that on which the *tasmiyah* (naming) takes place, i.e., the seventh day after birth. The law recommends on that day the cutting of the hair of the head and the sacrifice of one or two sheep, which sacrifice is called *ʿaqîqah*. This sacrifice can, it is true, be performed in later life, or indeed after the death of the person concerned. In fact the Mekkans, though they generally sacrifice sheep on the occasion of the *tasmiyah*, do not always combine with it the idea of *ʿaqîqah*.

On the approach of the seventh day the father or guardian of the child sends messages to his friends to come and take a cup of coffee with him on such a day in the afternoon. If nothing is added, that is considered extremely polite, for the guest does not know, or at all events is not obliged to know, for what reason the *ʿazîmah* (invitation) takes place, and therefore is free from all the obligations which such knowledge entails. But it is common to add 'for it is the seventh day of the child'. When this addition occurs, the invited one must ask: 'Is this then a *tasmiyah* (naming)?' and the affirmative answer obliges the guest to go on the evening before the day to the father of the child, for the proper celebration begins on that evening. Often big drums (*zîr*) are beaten after the *ʿasr* (afternoon prayer time) before the house to give public notice of the tasmiyah, and after sunset the guests assemble. First only coffee is served and the usual courtesies interchanged: then a young man of the family goes up to the ladies who have long since been holding the child in readiness: the child lies wrapped up in a cloth blazing with gold and jewels on a satin-covered mattress sprinkled with silver stars, in a cradle or on a beautiful little tray. The ladies while handing the child to the youth sound the peculiar loolooing

(called in Mekka *ghatrafah*, and not as elsewhere *zaghârît*), which accompanies joyful events in all lands of the Arabic language. A learned friend[17] or relation is charged with the *tasmiyah*, and to him then the child is next handed over. After the solemn initiatory *bismillah*, he utters in a low voice into the right ear of the child the formula of *adhân* (call to prayer), and into the left ear the *iqâmah* (last warning to rise for prayer),[18] delivers a short religious discourse (*khutbah*), especially about the significance of the names by which God distinguishes His creatures from one another, and finally pronounces the name of the child. If the parents leave to the learned man the choice of the name, then the latter after the performance of oneiromancy (*istikhârah*) — divination by dreams, see above p. 14, — decides upon it, or he chooses a famous name the bearer of which may serve as an example to the child: often the parents themselves make the decision. However in the end it is always referred to the *decretum divinum*, to which corresponds the formula pronounced by the learned man at the end of his sermon 'I name thee, as God has named thee: N. N.'[19] Thereupon he puts under the mattress a money present wrapped up in paper which nowadays varies between half a dollar and five dollars: The Mekkans assert that formerly large sums or even title deeds of houses used to be given on these occasions. The other guests rise, approach the child, and also put little parcels under the mattress.[20] Then servants put before each guest a plate with pastry, and the guest wraps it up in a cloth and takes it home. Traditional for the tasmiyah is ½ lb to 1 lb of the two decimetre long little cylindrical sweetmeats called *abnûtah*, plur. *abânût*. Meanwhile the members of the family place themselves at the exit from the house in a row in which precedence is regulated

[17] The Mufti of the Shafi'i rite who died in 1886, Ahmed bin Zênî Dahlân, relates with a certain pride in his history of Mekka that the *tasmiyah* of a son of the Grand Sherîf was assigned to him.

[18] These formulae are especially suited to this purpose, as the Moslim profession of faith occurs several times in them.

[19] The names given to free-born children are in Mekka the same as those used in the whole Muhammedan world. Usual names of slaves are: Amân, Fèrèj, Yusr, Jôhar, Almâs, Murjân, Fêrûz, Abd el-Môla, Abd el-Khêr, Khêr Allah, Sa'd Allah, Mèrzûq, Bekhît, etc.; names of slavewomen: Fuddhah, Trunjah, 'Itir, Ghazlân, Bekhîtah, Barakah, Mèbrûkah, Se'îdah, Se'âdah, Wesîlah, Selâmah, Dâm èl-hènâ, Jâd èl-Kerîm, Khadm Allah, Bahr ez-Zên, Khaizurân, etc.

[20] It is not a regular custom but it occurs now and then that the child is presented to all the guests in turn in order to make them partake in the cutting of the hair. For that purpose big scissors are put on the tray on which the child is lying and everyone cuts a couple of hairs.

by age and degree of kinship. Each guest as he goes past addresses to them his blessing: "Be blessed: if it is the will of God", (*mubârak in shâ Allah*) and the proper answer is "May God give you blessing and reward your trouble." (*Rabbanâ yebârik fikum, shakar Allâh mas'âkum*). In very great families the women in the night further regale themselves with the unholy productions of the singing girls who perform their songs on the occasion of marriage feasts.

On the following day cooking begins already in the forenoon. For such great parties a cook is generally hired who brings with him gigantic caldrons and lights his fire in the passage near the house. The chief constituents of the meal are rice and mutton. In the condiments there is as much variety as possible. The *zarâbiyân*, a dish also seen at wedding feasts, consists of rice and mutton cooked together in great caldrons with a mixture of much butter, sour milk and a rich assortment of spices such as saffron etc. It will be seen that the formal invitation to 'coffee' has in Mekka as comprehensive a meaning as the invitation to tea in Germany. Coffee is offered to the guests immediately on their entrance before the meal has begun. Then the great metal dishes are brought in, each laden with courses for five or six persons. Previously a long white piece of table cloth has been stretched out before the guests who are sitting along the wall, the table cloth thus forming a quadrangle. As soon as a plate has been set before about every fifth person, the stewards (*mubâshirîn*) of the feast say: "Please, gentlemen" (*atfaḍḍalû*) whereupon all "in the name of God" set to, after each company of 4 or 5 has set itself around its plate. Between one and three o'clock new guests are continually coming in, for the time in the invitation is very vague: so too several salons and side rooms are filled together. After the meal, the friends at once go home again, only a few remaining behind to drink tea.

The time for the purification of the woman after childbirth is fixed by law at about 40 days.

On the 40th day another small feast (*'azîmah*) is held, to which the women invite all their friends, while the men have only a small party of intimates. In the afternoon the ladies eat and drink together. Towards sunset they go with the young mother into the mosque, and take the child wrapped in the most costly clothes on a small silken mattress shining with gold and silver.

This they hand over to a mosque eunuch (*âgha*) who at once understands that this is the fortieth day after birth and lays the child on the raised threshold five feet high of the Kaabah. "Oh, Allah! at thy door I stand and pray to Thee", says the seller as he goes about in the streets: and as this seller thus symbolically at the beginning of a new day begs for God's blessing on his business, so at the beginning of life is the young Mekkan laid into God's protection, before God's door. Ten minutes the child lies there: then the eunuch gives it back to the mother, and receives a gift for his trouble. The women then with the congregation perform the sunset prayer, go back to the house of the new born and stay there sociably together till a little after the *ʿishâ* (two hours after sunset).

It is the not yet mekkanised Hadramî's who are accustomed to circumcise their children already on the 40th day. In the interior of Arabia there are tribes among whom the operation is performed at a mature age in a very painful and somewhat dangerous manner. The betrothed of the man who is being circumcised stands opposite him to test his courage, annuls their betrothal if he utters a cry of pain; at least such is the often repeated story.[21]

The Mekkan has his child circumcised at the age of 3 to 7. Poor people wait for a rich neighbour or protector to give a circumcision feast for his own son in which they are allowed to take part at his expense. Of girls the circumcision (of the clitoris) takes place quite privately; only the women give a party, while the men receive their relations or very intimate friends. The day before the circumcision (*tahâr* or *tathîr*) the boy is taken in solemn progress through the town. The invited guests are first entertained to a meal after midday. After the *ʿasr* (i.e. about three o'clock in the afternoon) some men near the house-door beat the big drums to start the festive procession; thereupon some drum-beaters with small drums (*tablahs*) and tambourines (*târs*) take up their position and their noise is to be accompanied by religious chants (*dhikrs*) sung

[21] Many European travellers have mentioned such barbarous customs of circumcision in West- and South-Arabia. I often was told the same thing in Mekka where it was attributed to the ʿAsîr tribes and some tribes to the East and South of Taif. Of the last named tribes we read the same thing in the Kaukab al-Hajj by the Egyptian engineer-officer Sâdiq Bey, a little book in which, in spite of all superficiality, there are many valuable data on the geography and ethnography of Arabia. Nevertheless I feel bound to say that I have serious doubts whether the story is not legendary like the story of the Fahm and Kalb related by Landberg.

by the men on the way. On this occasion the litanies of the founder of the Rifâʿî order are generally chosen. The singing men are followed by the boy all wrapped in the heaviest clothes, which are covered with gold, silver and jewels, so that his face can hardly look out from the wrapping. He is lifted on to an equally adorned horse: as however he cannot ride, several men walking on either side hold him up and lift up and down under his nose a cloth soaked with perfume. Next comes an old black slave woman of his father, generally she who has most to do with his rearing, his *dât* (female of *dâd* — see above p. 16). On her head she carries a great brazier (*manqal*) in which a continually renewed supply of resin (*fasûkh*) and salt is placed in the charcoal fire. The combustion is accompanied with violent crackling and a very bad smell: this is supposed to make harmless the evil eyes that are most dreaded on such occasions. Behind the boy in front of whose house the procession is formed, come his poorer companions, likewise on horseback, but in a somewhat less splendid costume. The procession goes till about sunset through all the chief streets of Mekka and finally returns to the house from which it started. While the chanting and drum-beating still go on, the boy is taken up to the women and the males of the party disperse.

After the ʿishâ (which is about 1½ hours after sunset) until towards midnight the women of the family entertain their female friends and enjoy the song of some singing women who at a circumcision perform songs like those at a marriage. It is only on the following morning at sunrise that the barber (*mezèyyin*) comes with his *ʿuddah* (small tongs to nip up the cut off piece of foreskin) and with his razor. 'In the name of God' he quickly performs the operation, while the boy is lying on his back and his mother seeks to distract him with sweetmeats. The blood is stopped with the ash of burnt cotton, plasters called *martak* are afterwards applied, and in a week the wound is generally healed.

After the operation the male and female relations enjoy at breakfast the highly prized pastry called *zalâbiyah*, and so the feast ends.

The first point of good education in Islam is that the child should learn to drone out the Qur'an according to the complicated rules enforced in this matter. We will in our next section turn to the significance of this art for the religious and scholastic life. Here it

need only be mentioned that in the children's school (*kuttâb*) all the time is spent by the teacher called *meʿallim* or *fiqî* (*faqîh*) on instruction in this peculiar recitation. Children whose parents cannot afford the small cost of such education learn by ear from some instructed person to drone out the short sections of the holy text which they need for religious exercises. In the school the children under the supervision of the master write out with ink their Qur'an tasks on the wooden board, which is after each writing always washed clean. All must learn some of the shorter chapters by heart; the ideal of the boy is to get the whole Qur'an by heart, that is to become a *hâfiz*.

Parents who do not wish their children to associate too much with other children hire a learned man (*faqîh*) to come every day to the house, or agree with other families that their children may get private instruction together. Little girls go with the boys to school, but after the age of about 8 they are kept at home or sent to a schoolmistress (*faqîhah*); for slave women or other women who while of ripe years still wish to learn or improve their Qur'an-reading only female teachers are employed.

When the father first takes a boy to school, he gives the faqîh a handsome gift (*istiftâh*) worth from a quarter dollar to two dollars, and thenceforth the scholar gets every Thursday something worth a half-penny to three half-pence to give to the teacher. Likewise on all feast days, the official ones as well as the Môlid, 15th Shaabân and Miʿrâj (see above pp. 46, 57, 61), the father gives, either himself or through his son, to the teacher presents according to his means. In the school the boys sit in a circle round the teacher on the ground and make an infernal din with their united exercises; each one in the meantime is taking anxious note of the voice, gestures and stick of the *faqîh*, who for his part out of the confusion of voices can catch nearly every mistake and punish the guilty.

A school-child is always addressed at the beginning of a conversation with the question: 'what is now thy surah (chapter of the Qur'an)? this question was put by the last Circassian Sultan (1512) to the eight year old Abû Numeyy, who as heir to the Grand Sherîf, had come to him in his father's stead, and the child's answer was: "We have opened to thee a clear opening of victory" (i.e., Surah 48), which words were to the Circassian a deceptive augury of victory over the Turks. When the pupil has reached through the half or about two thirds (up to the 36th Surah) of the Qur'an,

then the faqîh announces the fact to his father. The latter then appoints the day of the feast (*'azîmah*) to which besides the teacher all the other pupils are invited. On that day the school boys all put on their most splendid gold embroidered garments and come with their writing boards on their heads to their happy young friend, who himself also thus carries his board wrapped up in fine gold-hemmed cloth. Placing him in the middle, they range themselves in files and march through the town, while one of the older ones recites a poem or quotes appropriate Qur'an verses: the theme of the poem is the praise of the Holy Book and of the Prophet. Certain forms of peroration or envoi are chanted by them all at once, as, e.g., the words (Qur'an 21:107)

"and Thee have we sent
"only out of mercy for the world"

Returned to the house they find the male relations of the boy with the *faqîh* and enjoy with them a meal. The *faqîh* gets as a present one to three dollars. This feast is called *isrâfah*.

Like it is the feast called *iqlâbah*, celebrated when the scholar has got to the end of the Qur'an. For this close of the school years however more numerous invitations are sent out: especially the ladies of the family then give a party. The meal is rather more sumptuous than at the isrâfah, and the reward to the *faqîh* is more generous. People of good position will even send him thirty dollars and a whole suit (*bèdlah*) or at least a mantle (*jubbah*). Also often on this occasion religious recitations are given after the promenade of the school boys and before the meal.

The Holy Law recommends the faithful to celebrate all sorts of joyful events by festive meals and to invite not only friends and neighbours but also poor people: such a feast is called in the Law *walîmah*, and the Law especially insists that there shall be no marriage without *walîmah*. It will have been seen that in Mekka the Law is complied with in the widest sense, and some family events now to be mentioned also give occasion there for a meal which to some extent corresponds to the walîmah though only the learned call it by that name. The other family feasts are outside the purview of the Law, differ according to the occasion, and display many local pecularities consisting in usages that belong rather to ethnology than to international religion. Towards some of these usages the Law takes an indifferent attitude, some are positively

forbidden, and Islam has failed either to assimilate or to extirpate them.

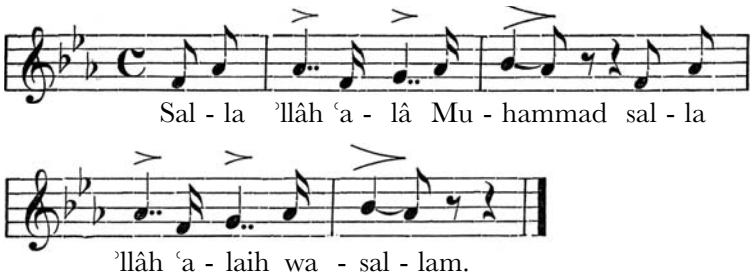
It is true that the walîmah, if attended with nothing unlawful, is in itself a religious function. People like however to give it by the performance of voluntary ceremonies a still more sanctified character. For this purpose one or more *faqîhs* are invited whose repertoire comprises the entire Qur'an, some life stories (*môlids*) of Muhammed in verse or rhymed prose, and some chanted litanies (*dhikr*). The recitation of the whole Qur'an in which the *faqîhs*, or on occasion also the guests join, that is each reciting a part of the Qur'an, forms the commencement and also the chief object of the solemn meetings which take place on the occasion of a death. In other family feasts this reading (*qirâyah*) is omitted, or at the most only a part of the Qur'an is recited. On the other hand the môlid (story of or from the life) of Muhammed is so much the central point of the celebration that the expression "They have a môlid today" merely means that there is a party (*'azîmah*) given on some joyful occasion. It is not all the guests that know whether it is a circumcision, a marriage, a happy return from a journey, or what else may have occasioned the invitation. "It is a *môlid*": that is enough. Some friends may form a society to meet every week and undertake or listen to the recitation of the Qur'an: the close of such a meeting is also celebrated with a môlid. In short the môlid is appropriate to all festivities, and this is in entire accord with the above mentioned excessive veneration for the person of Muhammed.

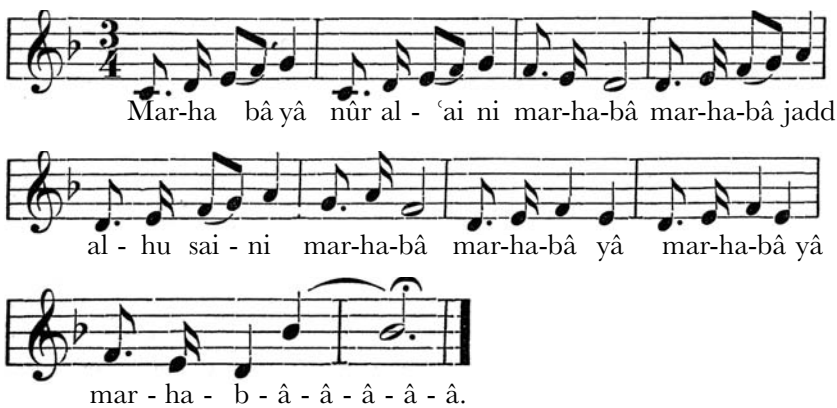
The most current môlids are printed. They contain no proper biography, but reminiscences in very stilted style of the most wonderful events in the legendary story of the Prophet. Generally in a môlid poetry alternates with rhymed prose, and the narrative of some miracles is followed by blessings invoked on Muhammed (*salawât*) i.e. endless variations of the theme, "May God give blessing and greeting to our Lord Muhammed". As an introduction to such sayings the words of the Qur'an (33:56) are generally used:

> "Yes, God and his Angels speak blessing on the Prophet. Let "you who believe speak blessing upon him and greet him with "respectful greeting".

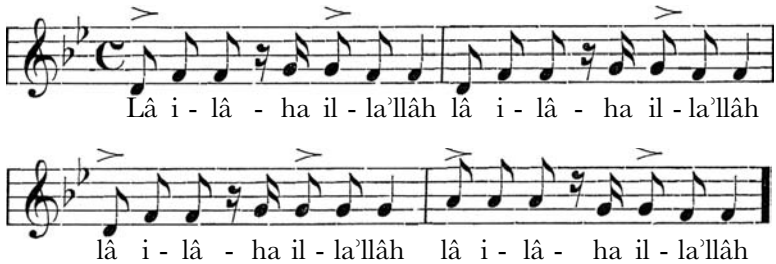
The prose parts are monotonously droned out by a *faqîh*. Of the poems he sings some. In the middle of the room stands a brazier out of which rises the smoke of the incense or aloewood that is

continually being strewn thereon. Of some poems the reciter first sings a couple of verses: now and then the whole company join in with two others which form the refrain. Very common is the following refrain:

"The blessing of God upon Muhammed
"Blessing upon him and salutation".

at which all present generally get up. Also often all sing together to a simple tune poems on the names and qualities of the Prophet or in which the singer repeatedly bids the Prophet his welcome (*marhabâ*), of which poems every three verses contain two new epithets of Muhammed.

"Welcome light of the eye, welcome, welcome,
"grand-sire of Husain welcome,
"Oh welcome, welcome".

Next follow chants in glorification of Allah, which all sing together, led by the *faqîh*. In these chants too the praises of the Prophet are inserted. In them God is implored for his blessing by his

hundred greatest names, which are recited rythmically in a certain order which is well known to every instructed man.

For telling these names use is made of a rosary of a hundred beads which many Mekkans almost continually carry in their hand. These beautiful rosaries in fact almost take the place of walking sticks for Mekkan youths to fiddle with rather than serve as they are supposed to do for the recital of God's praises in leisure hours. Moreover, in the chant also come the hundred times repeated recital of both parts of the confession of faith, the first part being: there is no god but God.

While the guests are busy with this song, the lengthy white tablecloths are spread out before them, and at the end a master of ceremonies (*mebâshir*) gives the leader of the chorus a sign that he is now only to close his song and after it to say a final prayer. Meanwhile the plates for five guests are brought in, and many are showing by their glance at them that their thoughts are divided between heavenly and earthly things. The Mekkans herein truly keep the golden mean!

As has been said, many usages, which are much more characteristic of the family feasts in Mekka than the uniform môlids with the attending company and then the dishes of rice with the varying trimmings, go more or less counter to the law: so far as the women are concerned, this may be said of most such usages. Thus at an *iqlâbah* the ladies amuse themselves in the evening and night with singing girls and the light songs such as are sung at marriages.

When the boy has finished his school days, his father's wishes for his further career have already taken some shape. To the man of learning and letters the entrance of his son into another position than his own seems a degradation to which he, the father, will consent only upon compulsion.

Rich merchants or private gentlemen who have several sons, are

pleased enough to see one of them adopt the career of a man of learning. A merchant will train up at least one to succeed him in the business. Once when I visited a merchant of my acquaintance and said to him I thought the voice of his 13 year old boy had got very hoarse, he agreed, and said the reason probably was that the young man had got married a few days before. 'I arranged this', said he, 'so as to have him in my house and in my business with a woman whom I knew, as otherwise he might form outside connexions and take to other ways'. This man was very rich. Less well-to-do men also wish for the most part to bring up their sons in their trade or business, and if they have several sons, they generally prefer to give them as apprentices or assistants to a friend. If the son of a middle class man shows a special bent towards the holy learning, the father can hardly with decency refuse to comply with his wish. Many however give way with scarcely concealed unwillingness.

The education for this career is expensive enough and the most favourable result brings the young man honour, it is true, but no income: so the family has the prospect of having to support him for years. His learning makes him either incompetent, or too fine, or too scrupulous, to take any of the positions that bring a livelihood in Mekka.

There are of course only a few who give this trouble to their parents. Oftener the parents have to combat the son's hankering after the trade of sheikh (*mutawwif*) — pilgrim's guide. From early youth the sons see rich sheikhs of this class playing the fine gentlemen and graciously distributing their favours among the other Mekkans. Everywhere they are ordering and being obeyed. They see their young assistants, some of whom are commencing sheikhs, in the last month of the year, day after day, stalking along with a proud mien at the head of dense ranks of pilgrims whom they show how to perform the ceremonies as if they were commanding a company of soldiers, while their right hands tap the ground before them at every step with a thick stick. Such scenes not only appeal to their vanity: they are too ready to believe that the pockets of the sheikhs and their assistants are continually full. Often one hears young Mekkans express the wish that it were given them only once to get a halfpenny from each pilgrim on the plain of Arafat; no one would be the poorer and they would be all at once rich. It is only natural that similar thoughts, though in

a less childish form, pass through the heads of most Mekkans during the pilgrims hunt. 'Now', thinks the boy, 'let us get something in 'the way of pilgrim guiding, some profit with the smallest trouble. 'In what other trade can you in a few weeks gain all you need 'for a whole year, while all you have to learn is to know the 'ceremonies and formulae a little more exactly than every Mekkan 'already knows them?'

The father has a hard task to persuade the son out of such fancies: "Only ask most of the mutawwifs assistants how hardly "they earn a piece of bread; how long they have waited upon "their pilgrims for no other reward than some gifts of doubtful "value." I have myself known such a case, of a very industrious *sabî* (servant) of a mutawwif, where the reward for going up and down from morning to night for some weeks on all sorts of foolish behests of the pilgrims has been a tray with some linen stuff for a shirt, four potatoes and a small piece of money. These niggards were mostly Indians. "Nothing can be got by mere knowledge of "the ceremonies — the greatest address, slyness, and endurance are "required along with all sorts of special studies and much luck "besides, for he who cannot enter into the business of his father, "or of an uncle or some special friend, finds himself in the position "of assistant on the footing of a beggar, only that he has to beg "longer without getting anything. Not even all the sheikhs can "make something out of it. Many a one sets to work again every "year though only to increase his deficit." Not all fathers succeed with these just arguments. The calling has for the youth partly the glamour of a soldier's life in one of our garrison towns, partly the attractiveness of a gambling-hell for the wooers of fortune.

More brilliant than the *isrâfah* and *iqlâbah* is what is known as a 'joy-feast'. Most Mekkans enjoy this in their youth, but some also at a later time of life. This is called a *serârah*. Whenever one comes back from the visit to the holy tomb at Medina, his friends come and congratulate him on his happy return, and he for his part gives them a feast; or if they come in the first days after his return he gives them, besides, coffee and sweetmeats and also some of the customary gifts from Medina, which he sends to them at their houses. Only the first time, however, is a *serârah* given in honour of the home-coming visitor to Medina, male or

female. In the case of an adult man the serârah is like other visits of congratulation, only that about eight days before his return the friends are formally invited to the congratulatory dinner. Only in the case of children and women can it be truly spoken of as a 'joy-feast'.

These do not enter Mekka in dust stained procession, but camp on the border of the holy territory at Tanʿîm (al-ʿUmrah) and there await their family. Soon the nearest relations arrive bearing the finest holiday suit of the *zâ'ir*, the 'visitor' (to the Holy Tomb at Medina) and a rich supply of gold and silver ornaments. For boys they bring along a richly caparisoned dromedary or horse, for girls or women a sumptuous litter (*takht*) that is carried on poles by two mules, one in front, the other behind. After they have dressed, the 'visitors' (*zuwwâr*) i.e. those who have returned from the visit to the holy tomb) mount their beasts in the fullest consciousness of their own high importance. They have indeed heard from their earliest infancy that from the man (and still more from the child) who has just returned from the tomb of Muhammed all sorts of secret blessings proceed.

The hands of such children are kissed, their garments[22] touched, and their intercession besought — all this is for the blessing (*barakah*). From their eyes streams a strange light which recalls the mystic light called 'Nûr Muhammed', created before the world. "Thy face is light", is said by the congratulators.

Towards noon a company with their 'visitor' in the middle comes into the town. Outwardly one might take the procession for a circumcision procession. But at the entrance of the town the boy is awaited not only by the drummers who attend the circumcision feast, but also by men bearing a heavy banner (*bêrak*) of Indian silk stuff (*rêzah*) embroidered with gold. And so the friends and relations make procession with him round the town, which ends towards evening before his house. Here on the open space before the house-door the various drums give their last concert while the boy (or woman as the case may be) solemnly dismounts, and followed by the relatives in file marches into the house. There a good meal

[22] The child until puberty has no legal obligations and is therefore free from sin: thus he may be adorned with gold and silver, the use of which for this purpose is forbidden to men, and the festivities on certain occasions in the life of boys are very like those in the life of women.

awaits him. At once all set to, and when all have had enough they rise thanking God and go home.

For the women the real festivity (*serârah*) begins after the ʿishâ (which is less than two hours after sunset): till late at night they enjoy countless cups of tea, glasses of sorbet, and hubble-bubble pipes, as well as the erotic songs so often above mentioned. Early in the morning the family again takes *zalâbiyah* (a sort of pastry; see p. 114) for breakfast, and after sunrise the neighbours, and more distant relations, come to offer their congratulations. To them, just as on the feast day at the end of Ramadhan, coffee, sweets and perfumes are offered. After mid-day the assembly gradually diminishes; now the servants quickly prepare the longer rooms for a meal, for today the great feast for which invitations have been given eight days sooner will take place after the *ʿasr* (afternoon prayer time). The inevitable *môlid* precedes this feast. If the guests are so numerous that they fill more than two rooms, or, as often happens, are distributed over different houses, then the *môlid* is given in only one or two salons.

The earlier part of these proceedings, namely the entry into Mekka, is contrary to the Holy Law, being quite incompatible with the reverence due to God's City and its surrounding holy territory. Properly speaking, everyone should enter the City on foot and dressed in pilgrim garb, instead of which people of the lowest sort dress like the children of Princes and enter riding to the beat of drums as if Mekka belonged to them. Still so great is the force of habit that even great divines look on without displeasure and at most shrug their shoulders with a remark about the spirit of the time: "See how the world goes back. At the time of the rightful "Caliphs such pomp would have been impossible, just as then the "reverence towards the Kaabah forbade men to build houses higher "than it. And now all the good houses are higher than it and no "man has any scruple about entering Mekka without pilgrim dress, "though it is true that people dismount before the house of the "Grand Sherîf". In truth however even such a divine (*ʿâlim*) seems to be glad that the spirits of the two ages are in Mekka brought into such happy accord.

There are a great many smaller family feasts besides those described; but they need no description in my present sketch, for they all essentially consist of the môlid and the dinner. In the highest de-

gree on the other hand the feast which of all others demands our attention is the marriage feast.

We must observe however that the marriage as about to be described is only so celebrated when a young man marries a virgin (*bint el-bêt*). A man who already fills a position in society could scarcely submit to all these strange usages to which a big child must submit, and for the woman also it would be absurd to play the bride two or three times over in such fashion. When the bride is a divorced or widowed woman and the bridegroom is no longer young, the mode of celebration depends wholly on circumstances. In such a case the man for instance invites some good friends and the male relations of both parties to a meal, which is often given some days after the completion of the marriage, and the bride before she goes into the bridegroom's house has a party of ladies on one or more evenings with singing girls. If she has often changed her husband, she will begin to look upon these expensive entertainments as an unpleasant duty, and will economise as much as possible. Very prosaic but not infrequent are the marriages in which the two parties agree together to have no festivity at all. On the day of the conclusion of the contract the household gear of the bride is carried into the bridegroom's house, and later in the evening she comes herself. This procedure is always followed when the marriage is concluded for a fixed time. In the orthodox law, as is well known, such marriages are condemned as *mutʿah*, though it is admitted that in the oldest community there were various opinions. The Shiʿites on the other hand allow them, and take advantage thereof to have more than four wives at a time. However, the practice of the Sunnites in this as in many other cases is so divergent from the tenor of the law that while contractual time-limits invalidate the marriage offer, verbal promises and agreements of all kinds outside the marriage contract are morally binding. The man can at any time repudiate his wife; if then a stranger, a Medina man, for instance, temporarily in Mekka, makes proposal of marriage to a woman, the questions on her part are very natural: how long do you mean to stay, and what will you do with me when you leave? If he gives some such answer as that he proposes to stay three months and wishes to have a woman only for a time, then she makes out an account; ten dollars marriage-payment, twelve dollars a month subsistence money the three months after separation, that is the *ʿiddah*-period included. She also stipulates for the whole

sum to be paid down in advance. The agreement is almost invariably fulfilled, and so the *mut'ah* which the Sunnites denounce in the heretics has been smuggled in by the Sunnites themselves.

In such connections there is not the faintest shade of poetry; it is only when a youth of Mekkan family marries a virgin that a poetic colour is, at least formally, given. The age of the maiden bride lies between 12 and 20: the youth may be from 14 to 25. In spite of their youthfulness both have often long since attained sexual maturity. If the young man is of a well-to-do family, his father or guardian will have given him a slave girl as concubine as soon as he has shown an inclination in that way. We have seen above that the first marriage is not always founded on the love, nor even on the wish of the bridegroom. It happens that the young man takes a somewhat passive attitude towards the arrangements made by his father for his marriage, though no compulsion is used. Also the maiden is seldom forced into marriage; it is expected of her however to behave as though she were conforming to her father's plans only out of obedience.

The *khitbah*, i.e. initial offer of marriage, is introduced by a female relation of the bridegroom paying a visit to the bride's mother, and in form this visit is one of inquiry. She is to see the maiden, look into her manners and character, and, if the result corresponds with the hopes that have been cherished, gradually give the conversation the desired turn so that she may report what hope of success there is for a regular proposal. If the two families are on friendly terms there are much better ways of obtaining by ambiguous conversation unambiguous information as to the possibility of the desired union, but even then "traditional usage" demands the above-mentioned woman's visit, which thus becomes a mere comedy. The rule is that the maiden herself who is the object of the visit should 'happen' not to be in the reception room. The visitor must then express her wish to see her. If any doubt still remains the woman at once perceives from the manner in which this request is received whether she is to go any further or not.

In the end she says to the maiden: 'God willing we shall become related', to which the older ladies give approving answers while the maiden puts on a show of bashfulness and submissiveness. After the emissary has given her report, one of the male relatives of the suitor goes to the bride's family to lend male force to the female agreement; for this purpose the man who is the best speaker and

the most versed in business transactions is chosen. He is received with as much 'empressement' as was his female forerunner, and is served with coffee and so forth. The gentlemen appoint the day of *mulkah*[23] (i.e. conclusion of the contract), and with feigned delicacy and tradesman-like precision discuss the question of the *mahr* (dowry brought by the husband). As to its amount there is not much to be said. In the case of families of good position a substantial *mahr* is demanded by the family pride of both parties, and the father of the bridegroom adds largely to the promised sum. Often a father of the middle class demands in the name of his daughter some hundreds of dollars, not for the sake of the money, but to show how much he cares for her. Others give out that a good husband would be welcome even though he gave but a few pence as a matter of form. Among the poorer classes as high a sum as possible must be insisted upon for the reason that all the cost of the bride's trousseau must be paid out of it and she will have in it a small capital for the case of separation. The very poor must be ready to overlook everything and content themselves with a few dollars, unless their beauty excites the desire of the rich. Personal charms of a woman are here the more profitable, as in Islam a man can make no mesalliance, while the law enjoins on a woman if possible to take a husband of equal or higher position. In fine the amount of this marriage gift varies endlessly.

To confirm the agreements that have been made the men recite altogether the fât'hah (opening chapter of the Qur'an). Thus it is said of a young girl: "they have recited the fât'hah over her", meaning that she is about to be married. A few days before the *mulkah*, the father of the bridegroom (or the bridegroom himself as the case may be) sends some male relatives to the bride's father to hand over to him the marriage-money or at least the part thereof payable before the marriage. One of them carries a silver tray covered over with about five yards of red muslin (*shâsh*). On this are the gold pieces and some bits of candy, some cardamom, and Arabian jasmine (*full*) arranged in beautiful figures. The whole is covered with a fine cloth of tulle stuff of which the edges are embroidered with flourishes and figures of gold tinsel. In the bride's

[23] In the case of child marriages especially, and even sometimes in that of such marriages as are here described, the *mulkah* precedes by months or even years all the other solemnities necessary for marriage.

house the men and women in their respective apartments serve to the guests coffee and sherbet. As soon as the guests are noticed, the well known trilling (*ghatrafah*)[24] sounds from above out of the women's apartment. The gentlemen come to meet the guests and to admire the morning gift (i.e. marriage money). As we have already shewn, this gift really, according to Law, belongs to the bride, and in her later marriages it will be directly handed to her after deduction of the fees of the go-betweens, but now in the time of her youth and inexperience the father or guardian looks after all her money matters. He buys her household gear etc., and he thus considers the dowry as spent before it is actually paid over. If he is a well to do man he has no doubt added a good deal to the sum, and, if poor, he will take something out of it for his trouble. Before their departure the representatives of the bridegroom ask the bride's relatives for a further declaration of receipt: "We are all friends of course but you know a man likes to have it so…", and the relatives interrupt them with the desired declaration.

The rules for the *mulkah* (officially called *'aqd èn-nikâh* — tying of the marriage bond), that is: conclusion of the contract, are very simple. The formal unambiguous offer on the part of the bride's representatives is immediately followed by the formal acceptance on the part of the bridegroom; at least two witnesses must hear this, and the marriage is thereby concluded. Among the non-obligatory things which the Law emphatically recommends, are especially to be mentioned the increase of the number of witnesses to a solemn assemblage, and one or more speeches to be delivered by the parties on the significance of marriage as a divine institution. Both conditions are fulfilled in Mekka in marriages of virgins and to some extent also in other marriages.

Alike when the contract is concluded in the house (generally that of the bride), or in the mosque, invited acquaintances come with the male relatives of both parties and take up position in rows, turning themselves towards the Kaabah as if they were about to perform a prayer in common. In front of them, opposite the centre of the first row, the master of the ceremonies places him-

[24] The reproduction of this trilling, given by some travellers as *wulwul*, etc., is for Mekka not accurate. There the *ghatrafah* is rather similar to the trilling of birds, whereas the *wulwul* etc., is often heard from the mouth of a woman, but only as an expression of disappointment or compassion. The *ghatrafah* is a wild hysterical laughter and cheering. The *wulwul* imitates sympathetic weeping.

self. He is rarely the *walî* (father or guardian) of the bride, generally a person empowered by the walî to act on his behalf. The function has not much in it, but nevertheless the *mumlik* or *ʿâqid èn-nikâh* (so this man who gives away the bride is called) must be familiar with the formalities, and must know by heart a *khutbah* (pious address). No khutbah is so strongly enjoined by Law as that of the *walî*, and, as he is generally incapable of the effort, it has become almost universal for him to delegate a competent man for the whole marriage ceremony.[25] In villages only one or two such marriage performers are to be found, but in larger towns they are to be counted by dozens, for there one man in every important family is sure to have the required accomplishment, while the *faqîhs* (professional Qur'an readers) and most of the mosque attendants are also available as mumliks. As the Qâḍî in disputed cases has to decide upon the validity of the marriage, and as the trustworthiness of the mumlik is a weighty matter for his consideration, the Qâḍî almost everywhere exercises a certain control over these marriage performers. In some countries the Qâḍî even appoints a limited number of such men, to whom all must address themselves. In Mekka every citizen of education could obtain such a license from the Qâḍî and their number reached some hundreds; high authorities on the Law or recognised learned men needed no such license. The Turkish authorities attempted to make control easier by appointing only a few mumliks for each quarter of the town; but the attempts failed in face of the unwillingness of the citizens who appealed to the Holy Law. In Mekka sometimes a learned member of the family, sometimes an imam of the mosque or a Qur'an-reciter (the latter two being paid) comes forward as marriage-performer.

When all have sat down, the bridegroom comes in, accompanied by some friends. He takes his place in front of the rows of the audience next to the mumlik, and the latter then begins his khutbah after the customary praises of God and of the Prophet. His address is interlarded with verses of the Qur'an and traditions about the nature and purpose of marriage. Having mentioned "that two human creatures can neither join nor part otherwise than by divine decision and predestination" he closes with the following words: "Herewith

[25] The *walî* as well as the bridegroom (*ʿarîs*) is permitted to delegate. In Mekka the walî almost invariably, and the bridegroom quite exceptionally does so.

I offer to thee in marriage and wedlock the woman chosen by thee (may she be saved from evil) NN. daughter of X. for the gift thou hast brought and in this you two are in accord". The bridegroom immediately answers "I accept marriage with her on the named condition" whereupon all present, folding their hands before their faces as has been described (see p. 29, note), recite the *fât'hah*. In this or such a manner is the mulkah contract concluded in Mekka. The festive ceremonies which accompany the contract however are as carefully regulated by custom as the form is by Law.

It is very "fashionable" to hold the mulkah at home a few hours after sunrise; it would be contrary to usage to have it before sunset in the mosque precincts. The following is the order of the entertainment of the guests; first two kinds of food are offered them while they are sitting in the drawing room, one sweet (*hilu*), the other piquant (*hâdhik*): also sweetmeats and meat with trimmings and perhaps some kind of biscuit (*buskumât* or *buksumât*). Before leaving, each guest gets about half a pound of bonbons (*halâwah sukkarîyah*) or candy in a plate made of baked sugar with a cover of the same material (*sahan bimekabbatuh*). The nearest relatives of the young couple finally stand in a row on the right of the door of exit to return the blessings of the departing ones and thank them for their presence.

It is more common however to hold the mulkah in the evening after the *'ishâ* (i.e. about 9 p.m.) in the *Haram* (mosque enclosure).

By agreement with the mosque attendants either the space towards the northwest of the Kaabah inside the crescent-shaped wall (*Hijr*) or the upper floor of the Zemzem building is chosen for this purpose, where generally the Governor and other high officials perform their noon and afternoon devotions because the sun is then beating fiercely on the mosque court, and this upper floor allows them to perform these devotions near the Kaabah but in the shade. The space chosen for the mulkah is laid with fine carpets and lighted with many candle lanterns (*tannûrs* and *fânûses*).[26] Of distributions

[26] The *tannûr* is a glass lantern on a low stand holding, like the *fânûs*, a wax or spermaceti light. The *fânûs* is the common lantern hung in the houses or carried in the streets and into the mosque. The light is within a space enclosed by six panes of glass held together by tin strips which rise and meet in a point above the glass panes, and to the point is fixed a handle or ring for hanging or carrying. Instead of the wax or spermaceti an oil lamp may be used in the fânûs, but such an oil lamp may not be taken into the mosque. This prohibition by the Turkish authorities is not founded on Sacred Law, but on two reasons, namely, fear of fire and dislike of the bad smell of petroleum.

of sweetmeats after recitations of the fât'hah there are three modes. The finest mode is for each guest to receive half a pound of candy in a little bag of red muslin (*shâsh*); a less sumptuous mode is for each guest to take away some of the long thin sweetmeats called *abnûtah* (see p. 111) in his own cloth; he who wishes to do it very cheaply has only sherbet served at the departure of the guests. There are two modes of sherbet drinking, the Mekkan and the Medinese; according to the former a full glass is passed from mouth to mouth and each one takes a few sips; according to the latter each guest gets a full glass and must drink it all.[27] The more distinguished guests set the example in this matter on each occasion. The leave taking of the guests is similar to that in the private house, the relatives of the married couple now standing at the gate of the above described *Hijr*, or at the door of the Zemzem building.

Sometimes also the mulkah is performed after sunset or after *'ishâ* at home, and in this case the accessories are like those in the mosque. To let all the neighbours know, the big drums (*zîr*) are beaten before the door and the street entrance is illuminated with hanging oil lamps, namely *qandîls*, (open glass saucer-shaped oil lamps), or *burmahs* (large cylindrical glass oil lamps). No food is served in the house, but only the coffee which is always served to the visitor at any time of day.

According to Law the bride (*'arûsah*) and bridegroom (*'arîs*) could consummate the marriage immediately afier the mulkah, but by inflexible usage they must first go through a series of fatiguing ceremonies, and their friends (especially their female friends) would for no price give up the pleasure of acting in these as helpers or spectators. Already before the mulkah day they have equipped themselves to take part in these ceremonies, and have rendered much service to the bride's family in getting together the countless and some of them very expensive requisites of the marriage feast in their house. As will be seen, the expense in food, drink, light, hire of musicians etc., is very considerable, so that only the very rich could bear the cost of fitting out the bride chamber and other apartments. Rich owners of the necessary objects will however readily lend them, and even to strangers if recommended by friends; other articles such as lamps, benches, etc., can be hired; and finally

[27] So there is a Mekkan and a Medina sandal; a Mekka and Medina mode of tying the turban etc.

wealthy merchants make pious foundations of the ornaments required for marriages, whereby any one, on certain conditions, obtains the right to their use. And so the poorest maiden of a respectable family can at least once in her life play the Queen.

"Yesterday was the mulkah of our young friend": so say the intimate female acquaintances of the bride, "this evening we will go to her for the *hinna*; to-morrow they will do her *rîkah*, and the next day will be her *ghumrah*. In secret however they must rejoice at the prospect of the *dukhlah*-night which follows the day of *ghumrah*. We will now penetrate into these mysteries.

Sometimes the *rîkah*-day is followed by the *hinna*-evening so that the number of holidays is lessened by one, and the ladies' party begins only about sunset of the *rîkah*-day. In other cases the relations and the best female friends come already in the afternoon of the *hinna*-day and enjoy a good meal. The *hinna*-feast is founded on the fiction that the bride is then adorned by her female friends, and as the henna (or hinna) dye has to be placed with great care on the feet and hands and left long to dry, the whole toilet is called by that name. As a matter of fact, however, a professional, 'dresser' (*meqayyinah*) does the work, and the guests only look on. As soon as the henna is dry, the meqayyinah dresses the bride's hair, i.e. she cuts the hairs that are just above the forehead and shortens the eyebrows a little. The hair of the head she makes into eight plaits, which if necessary she 'helps' a little with false locks (*'uqûs*) of wool and silk. Into each plait she works a silken thread to which are attached by the holes bored through them some obsolete gold coins. For this two coins are mostly used: they are of the time of Sultan Mahmud, and bear the date 1223 (1808–1809) — they are called here respectively *ghawâzî* (sing. *ghâziyyah*) worth about one dollar, and *mahmûdiyyât*, worth about four. Another coin much prized by women as an amulet and as a hair adornment is called in Mekka *mishkhas*, which merely means coin stamped with a human figure or face. It is probable that in earlier times these were the only coins so stamped that circulated in Mekka. Now we find almost only bored ones, and on most of them the inscription or "legend" is very difficult to decipher. They are bought at goldsmiths' and moneychangers' for the women's use only. They seem to be mostly

Venetian sequins. (I have one of Doge Aloys Mocenigo I (1570 et 1577) with Christ on one side and on the other the Doge kneeling before St. Mark). Thus the irony of history, not content with the degradation of the tomb of Muhammed into an object of pilgrimage, — Muhammed who cursed the adorers of prophets, — has caused in Mekka the wives of the Moslims who abhor all pictures of living beings and regard adoration of Christ as polytheism, to shew, of course quite unwittingly, superstitious reverence for the portraits of Christ and of an Evangelist.

While the toilet of the bride is being completed (except the feast-day robe) the lady friends regale themselves with song and music; not always professional singers are called in, but the women often accompany their own songs with tambourines (*târs*) or handclapping. The young girls often remain together till midnight, smoking pipes and drinking tea; the married women return home earlier.

On the next day in the morning the friends of the bride's family come to her house to set up the *rîkah*,[28] as it is called. This is a kind of covered throne or seat which outside looks like the upper part of a minbar (pulpit in the mosque). This is constructed of wood for the virgin bride, and entirely hidden with gala clothes. Curtains and coverings of several pieces of silk and satin with gold and silver stars and borders attached, and all sorts of ornaments and jewellery, especially star-shaped and rose-shaped brooches, cover up the front part of this seat. For a *rîkah*-room an apartment in an upper storey is arranged. Fine carpets are laid down. A large silver star studded with diamonds is hung over the door along with several lanterns, and the great seat is put in the middle of the back part of the room. The rîkah itself is also hung with many lamps and lanterns (*qandîls, nèjfahs, burmahs*) in which, to save the fine drapery, only sperm candles are burnt. The phrase 'setting up the rîkah' really includes 'setting up' many other things that are requisite for the wedding. In the space (*barrâhah*) or lane by the house, poles are set up, and their tops united with cross beams on which as many lanterns as possible are hung. Wooden benches are set up in rows and covered with carpets. The ground is levelled and sprinkled with water. In short the rîkah-day is spent in a general bustle in which each man tries to outdo his neighbour.

[28] This is the Qur'anic *aríkah* (Sura 18:30 &c) = the seats of the blessed in Paradise.

For their trouble they are all rewarded with a good meal; the professional cook prepares for them in his great caldrons rice and mutton with some seasoning, and on plates big enough for five persons the bride's family send the bridegroom and his relations portions (*maʿsharah*, plur. *meʿâshir*) of this food covered over with a sort of mat of woven palm leaves (*mekabbah*). After the *ʿasr* the gentlemen go home. The ladies however then come in larger numbers than on the day before and spend the night like the last night. This night (except when, as we have explained, it is also the hinna-night) is called after the day which follows it: *ghumrah*-night.

All the bustle which rules on the ghumrah-day in the house of bride and bridegroom is really only the preparation for that which is to take place in the evening and in the night, namely the *dukhlah*, the culminating point of the marriage feast. Off and on for the whole day the drums are being beaten before the two houses, and singing girls, who have a heavy task before them in the night, entertain also during the day the ladies of both families and their guests. Meals are often, though not of necessity, given to guests on the ghumrah-day. The invitations to such feasts are extended as widely as possible, and it is therefore impossible to receive all the guests at once, though the best rooms of the neighbours are held at the host's disposal.

We have often already in talking of parties of ladies mentioned the singing girls and the erotic ditties. Such are called in Mekka dana-dana-songs, for they always begin with variations of these words. These seem to correspond to our meaningless "tra la la": It is asserted however that they have to do with the word *danâ* (approach), and that the approach[29] of the beloved or the lover's desire to approach her is thereby signified.

Properly speaking the singing woman (*meghanniyah*) is one only; the others, her slaves, accompany her either by beat of tambourine or by joining in the rhyming words or last words of the verses.

As to their contents, these songs are expressions of sensual desire. Their different parts are often unconnected or hardly connected together. Often the different parts themselves have suffered from

[29] Dr. Wetzstein supposed that the introduction: *yâ'nâ, dâ'na dânî* might mean: "Here I am, come, I am here" but he thought it also possible that *nadâna* should mean: "my joy!" as *nadâ* may denote everything that rejoices the heart.

want of understanding on the part of the practisers of this art, which is condemned by the Law and which is permitted to the women only because most of them are already nothing but fuel for hell fire. Instead of a translation, I reproduce the contents of both these erotic songs in my own words. In the first song the singer complains to Allah of his love sickness for a gazelle with black eyes. The fair Leyla has wounded him mortally. He prays the beloved to give him her love in return, for that is almost her religious duty, and he is sure to die unless he gets it. He urgently calls upon her for the medicine, because no physician cures his wound. Then he describes her gazelle-like neck, her breasts like quinces. He compares her to fragrant herbs and flowers, to nuts, almonds and Syrian pistachios. Her perfume excels that of wine. She is refreshing like sleep after long watching. He wishes he were a bird, to be able to approach her suddenly flying while she sleeps. "May Allah visit thee with equal love-pain on my behalf, as he "has visited me, and then pardon thee thy sin".

In the second song another singer complains to his Leyla, the princess of all white ladies, to whom all the fair wish happiness. His peace of mind is gone, and he will die without having divulged the secret of his sickness. This Leyla also combines in herself the properties of all perfumes. The poet cries three times "Ah" — and asks those who know love where he is to find tranquillity. His heart is wounded by the fair one who is equal to the full moon of the month of Shaaban. "Oh you who know love, who knows the "cure for my grievous wounds?"

Such is the song chanted to the accompaniment of the *daqqâqîn* (beaters on the tambourines) and the *raddâdîn* (repeaters of the rhymes and last words), while the listeners clap their little hands so that the bracelets rattle, and they cry "*Yâ Allâh, Yâ Rabbî*" (Oh God, Oh Lord!) and think themselves playing the part of the gazelle.

On the *ghumrah*-day, however, there is little leisure for the enjoyment of music. Their thoughts are all taken up with the approaching *dukhlah*, a reunion which affords a great field for the contest of female vanity. Not without elegance, but still with dreadful overloading, the ladies for this feast make of their bodies show-stands of gold and jewels which they bring out of their cupboards or hire or borrow from others. The women who witness the cere-

monies of the *dukhlah* in the bridal throneroom (see above for the *rîkah* or throne) after midnight are divided into two classes: 1^0 the uninvited spectators (*mitfêrrijât*) for whom the door is only opened for the actual feast, and of whom a great crowd take advantage of this without putting on any specially expensive clothes, and 2^0 the invited ones, or as they are called technically, the present ones (*hâḍ'rât, muhḍarât, mithaḍḍerât*), relations or intimate female friends of the bridegroom or bride, many of whom are bedecked with objects worth some thousands of dollars. In the splendour of her dress every lady displays either her wealth or the favour which she enjoys with her husband; there are, however, distinctions showing the closeness of relationship or intimacy of friendship with the bride.

Relations and female friends alike all have the eight hair plaits interspersed with *kashâ'it*, ornaments composed of old coins.[30] The hair is not confined by the usual kerchief (*mèhramah*), or by the upper kerchief called *medawwarah*, but by a kerchief of gossamer stuff (*yashmak*) richly worked with gold foil which is bound turbanwise round the head. Moreover, they wear vest and trousers of *rêzah* (the heavy silk stuff hemmed with gold thread and studded with gold foil, which is described above) and over them the *hâḍ'rât* of high rank wear the Bengal mantle (*tôb Benggâla*) of very fine transparent material (*darâbzûn* or *bumbâzâr*). This tôb also, to be called 'Bengal' must be as shining with gold stuff as the under garments which it hardly hides. The following distinctions of costliness are made: one who is not closely enough related to the bridal pair to put on a Bengal mantle wears one of some similar stuff with gold embroidery on the lower edges and the edges of the sleeves, which garment is called the 'drawn sword' (*sêf èl-mèslûl*), while finally, the most distant connections content themselves with the simple 'thin mantle' (*tôb khefîf*) with silver buttons, and can put on any under garments that they choose. Necessary parts of the costume are beautiful anklets, peculiar broad chain-like bracelets (*mitrak almâs*) set with many diamonds, and a rich collection of neck ornaments.

In different combinations the necklaces called *mûriyyah, lèbbah*, (with pearls, hyacinth stones and also diamonds) and *'akde lûlû*

[30] These are the *mahmûdiyyah* coins described above.

(strings of pearls) are worn. The *ambarshâh*[31] in the shape of a heart is hanging down on the breast from two silk ribands of about three centimetres in breadth, on which diamonds in gold settings and pearls are fastened.

While the greater or less quantity of these neck ornaments shows the degree of closeness of connection with the bridal pair, the relatives as such are at once distinguished by a strange ornament called *qelâdah*. This is an enormous 'rosary' formed of one hundred real apples, which reaches from the neck down over the knees. As there are many apples in Taif, there are times when a *qelâdah* can be had for a few dollars, but the lunar month the Rabîʿ II, which is the favourite month for marriages, of course goes through all the seasons, and so one may have to pay 20 or 40 dollars for an apple necklace that has already served for two or three marriages. So powerful is this tradition that a woman will threaten her husband with disgrace if he exposes her to the secret ridicule of her acquaintances by the lack of a *qelâdah*, and blood relations will give up the whole pleasure of the feast rather than appear without a *qelâdah*. With even more than their usual care the *hâḍ'rât* perfume themselves with rose oil or another fragrant oil called *kadi*-oil and with a mixture of aloes oil (called *ʿûdah maqtûʿah*) sugared water, carnations, cardamoms, lemon pips, and rosewater. On the evening following the *ghumrah*-day the female members of the bride's family sit in a large apartment called the ladies' sitting room (*mèjlis es-sittât*) above or opposite the bridal throne room. In the middle are the coffee utensils and plates full of fragrant mixtures; also tea things and sweetmeats, the whole being entrusted to some coffee-serving women (*meqahwiyahs*).

Money presents wrapped up in fine gold-embroidered handkerchiefs (*mèndîls*) are brought by the ladies for these attendants and the singing girls. By ten o'clock most of the female relatives and friends of the bride have gathered together in the ladies' sitting room, but the relatives of the bridegroom remain in his house regaling themselves to a smaller extent with the performance of the singers and waiting for the moment when the young man will be fetched by his friends.

---

[31] The Persian word *ambarshâh*, properly 'well of amber' denotes now in Mekka a heart of iron or copper in the middle of which is a rose with five diamond leaves in gold settings. The outer cover of this heart is set with a series of pearls and from the upper part strings of four or five pearls are hanging down over it.

Meanwhile the bride in a small room near the above mentioned ladies' sitting room is awaiting with her tirewomen and a few companions her deliverance from her sufferings, for the mantle of princess weighs heavily upon her though she is to wear it but once in her life. Unlike that of her visitors, her overmantle is of the heaviest silk stuff like the undergarments, upon her head is fastened a sort of over-cloth which looks like a whole jeweller's shopwindow full of brooches. Silk pads studded with countless ornaments of precious metals and precious stones are hung on her in front and also sometimes on her back. Even the poorest can hardly move without support on both sides, and her sufferings from heat are really serious. Such is the price of being the heroine of the night.

From about ten o'clock the friends of the bridegroom begin to gather round his house; for there is hardly room for them all inside, and, besides, they do not come alone. Each one brings with him some lantern bearers to escort the bridegroom in his progress through the town. Young men especially who probably will soon get married themselves often get from their fathers a few hundred lanterns, for they will be at the proper time repaid with the same courtesy. The arrivals are met by drum salutes, while the ladies upstairs intone the *dânâ dânâ* song (see above), and sometimes when a great number of lanterns approaches, a general "trilling" (*ghatrafah*) is heard from behind the balconies. After the friends have had enough of coffee, tea, pipes, and cigarettes, the bridegroom goes up to the women's apartments to be escorted down the stairs by a solemn cortege (*zifâf*) of ladies and then handed over to the safe keeping of his friends. Then the singing girl with her choir of *raddâdîn* (see above) sings some songs suited to the occasion but oddly contrasting with the shy modest appearance of the hero. All noble qualities are ascribed to him, but the dangers connected with his enterprise are not extenuated; high mountains must he climb, broad streams must he wade through, thunder and lightening must he face, before he reaches the abode of the princess of all noble fair ones. What shall help him? The satisfaction of his parents (*riḍâ 'l-wâldeyn*) at the approaching union will afford him a mystic protection against all danger. Thus fortified, the youth having taken leave of the ladies, comes back to the ground floor, and while the women above unceasingly trill their *ghatrafah* the procession forms itself under the leadership of some masters of ceremonies.

In front of all the drummers there are some hundreds of lantern

bearers, then, preceding the bridegroom, two men, each of whom carries a gigantic wax candle[32] thick as a man's thigh; also many other lights join the procession, some of them great crystal candelabra carried each by two men. In front of the bridegroom is also the reciter of verses (*meqassid* or *munshid*), with whom are three or four assistants (*mesâ'id* or *raddâd*) who occasionally join in. On either side of the bridegroom his youngest friends, beardless boys, march in the procession, and behind him the rest. Before he starts from the house the "reciter" (*meqassid*) turning towards him pronounces the fât'hah (first chapter of the Qur'an) and some verses in praise of marriage.

No matter in what parts of the town the respective dwellings of the bridal pair are situated, the procession goes with solemn slow steps through all the chief streets of Mekka, the reciter continually reciting poems in praise of Muhammed. At every 20 or 30 paces, as well as before the houses of high officials, the procession halts for a moment, when the reciter and his assistants turn to the bridegroom and recite with special emphasis about a dozen verses. A few days before the Sheikhs of the quarters, through which the procession is to pass, have been forewarned and generously rewarded. A part of the gift they keep for themselves, and a part they distribute among the "sons of the quarter", who for this consideration keep order and keep the street clear for the procession. If the gift were omitted, then the sons of the quarter would be the only disturbers of the peace.

The nearest aim of the procession is the "Bâb ès-Salâm", the great gate of the Mosque, through which the pilgrims generally make their first entrance. All the petroleum or other oil lamps are left outside the holy enclosure; the other lights accompany the processionists into it. Here a prayer meeting is formed to say the evening prayer with the bridegroom, which prayer has been put off to this late hour on account of the marriage ceremonies. Many merely look on, having already performed this devotion, or else say their prayer to themselves. The bridegroom is distinguished from his festively clad companions only in this, that he wears on his shoulders a prayer carpet (*sèjjâdah*) of a sort of Kashmir stuff

[32] These candles are hired for the occasion, and it is a moot point in Moslim Law whether the transaction is one of sale or hiring, the sum paid being in proportion to the amount of wax burnt. This cannot be a sale, as the goods and the price are not defined, and it cannot be hiring as a part of the goods is consumed, not used, etc.

MEKKA WOMAN IN BRIDAL ARRAY

called Selimi. If his father is learned in sacred lore or he himself a student of it, then he also wears his turban after the manner of the ʿulamâ, that is to say the fine muslin stuff is folded into a long band all of the same breadth, and this is wound from seven to twelve times round the cap (*kûfiyyeh*), with a long tail of it down his back. On common days such garb would be altogether too pretentious for a young man unless he had to act as Imam in the mosque. When the prayer is ended, which is led by one or other of those present as Imam, all come together again at the Mosque entrance which is nearest the bride's house. The procession forms again, and marches in the same order to that house. Here the open space before the door is brightly lighted with lanterns, the floor is again cooled with water, and the benches laid with carpets. When the procession approaches, the drummers of the bride beat in competition with those of the bridegroom. The singing girls in the ladies' apartment do their best to make themselves heard, and the ladies seize the least noisy moments to sound their trilling. The *mebâshirs* (masters of ceremonies) of the bride walk up to the bridegroom and lead him solemnly to a specially adorned seat in the middle of the others. The two gigantic candles are set before him. When the company have had enough coffee and sherbet, the bridegroom's mebâshirs go to each guest and ask him to come to-morrow after the noonday prayer and drink a cup of coffee (meaning 'take a meal') in the bridegroom's house.

This invitation serves as a signal for the party to break up, for only relations or very intimate friends keep the bridegroom company till morning; it is now past one o'clock.

The ladies meanwhile have mostly already come to the bride's house by a shorter way and at a quicker pace, and have been joyously welcomed in the ladies' sitting room. While the bride is being informed that the time is approaching when she will have to be solemnly conducted to the *rîkah*, the *ghunâ al-kharît* (song of head cleaning) is heard, in which it is related at length how the bride's hair is being plaited and adorned, though all know that she is sighing since morning under the weight of her completed toilet. This, however, is merely meant as a signal that the solemn procession will now pass from the ladies' room to the bridal throne room.

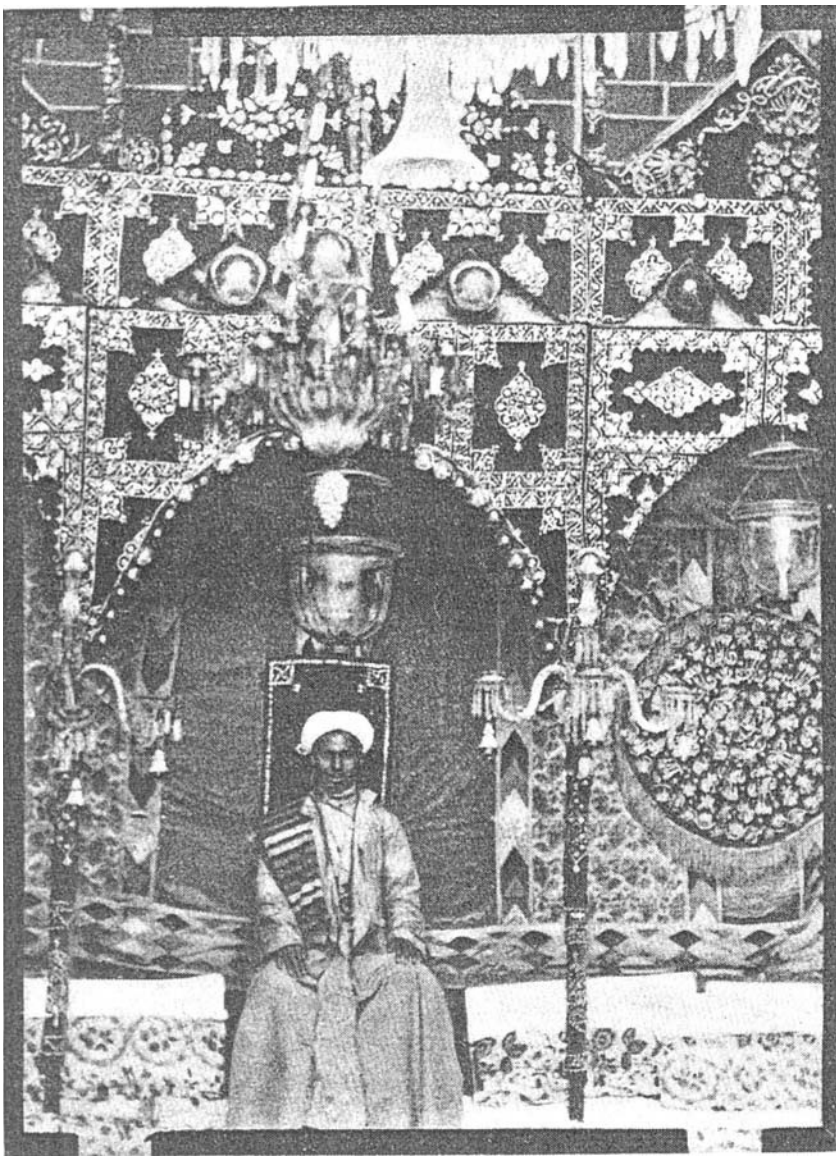
While the singers sing solemn songs in her praise, the bride,

escorted from her room by the invited women, marches with slow steps and frequently stopping to the throne room. The throng of uninvited women (see above p. 134) is waiting outside in front of the door of the throne room, some envious ones pinching or pricking others so as to disturb the solemnities, and often one trying to get hold of some ornaments. Finally the bride is placed on the throne, in which she is hardly able to sit down, though propped from behind by silk cushions. Her hands are raised aloft and her feet stretched out. She looks like a formless mass, her lace and figure hardly distinguishable, a moveable exhibition of jewellery and costly stuff.

The singing girl sounds the praise of the bride and her family. The uninvited ones are then allowed to crowd near the door; on the left and right of the *rîkah* the invited ones take up their position in rows from the throne to the door, and around the door the uninvited ones form large circles. In front of the *rîkah* there is a seat for the bridegroom, now generally a European chair laid with a rich piece of stuff.

Some women of his family go down the stairs with the singing girls, and bring up the bridegroom to the bridal throne-room, holding him by the hand, to the accompaniment of song and tambourine. It may be imagined how unnerved he feels himself there in the lighted room among all the laughing women's faces. Besides the bridegroom only a few of the older male relations of the bride are there, so the women are not ashamed to show themselves unveiled and they make merry over the embarrassment of the bridegroom, who has hitherto been accustomed to see only women who are related to him or slave women, and now all at once beholds some dozens of splendidly attired women and his bride before him, who is made unrecognisable through her bedizenment. His relatives bid him be seated. The tire-woman at the bride's side steps up to him and says: — 'look well on thy bride. Behold her without bashfulness; rise and lay thy right hand on her forehead; recite now the *fât'hah*.' The young man does so, and then receives from the hand of the tire-woman seven *ghawâzî*, the thinnest ornamental gold coins. In former times, it is said, he used to bring the coins with him and hand them to the bride after the ceremony. Now the tire-woman produces them, and afterwards gets from the bridegroom a silver piece for each gold piece.

'Put a *ghâzîyyeh* on the forehead of thy bride now, one on each



MEKKA BRIDEGROOM

of the temples, on the cheeks, on the tip of the nose, on the chin,' so the old woman goes on. She has already marked each of these parts of the bride with white plaster to show him where to put the coins, and this has still further diminished her charms. Next she tells him to take the coins off in the same order, and then again twice to put them on and take them off. This ceremony, called "*nassah*" must be a remnant of some forgotten customs and imaginations. *Nassah* originally meant raising the bride on to the bridal bed (*manassah*), which is now represented by the sham bridal bed, i.e., the bridal throne above described, and the whole ceremony called *dukhlah* or 'entrance' has become a farce. When the bridegroom has spent this terrible quarter of an hour with the princess whom he is to win, he may withdraw and go down among his friends and relatives. A supper (called *ta'tîmah*) is now set before these gentlemen and before the ladies upstairs. Most however need sleep rather than food, and the food which by tradition is served is not very appetising; biscuitlike bread in different forms called *sherêk* or *sukhkhânah* sprinkled with poppy and other aromatic seeds, candied fruits, or cheese and olives. Having eaten a little and drunk some water, the company soon breaks up: the bridegroom and his companions go straight home.

Scarcely has the bride got into somewhat lighter clothing, when a litter (*takht*) covered with costly carpets and borne by two mules appears before her door. This has been hired for the occasion by the bridegroom. A few of her family get in with her and then in a slow and stately march the same way is taken that was followed in the night by the bridegroom's procession, only there is no noise. He meets her at his house, and leads her into a room where breakfast has been prepared for the two. This consists chiefly of sweet cakes (*zalâbîyah*) with powdered sugar or boiled sugar water (*shîra*). This breakfast (*fatûr*) contributes as a rule little to their familiar acquaintance. The day now commencing is also called the *dukhlah* day. The married pair can now enjoy each separately some much needed sleep to recover a little from the fatigues of the night, but the day brings much trouble and movement to the house of the bridegroom.

In the forenoon many rooms in his own and in neighbouring houses are prepared for the reception of the countless guests who had been invited the evening before to take a cup of coffee. In the street some wood fires are burning over which *zarâbiyân*, the

above described mixture of meat and rice, is being cooked with various seasonings in great caldrons. As a dessert they take generally, besides all sorts of fruit, *meshabbak*,[33] *sambûsak*,[34] *fâlûdah* and *fannî*. The last is like fâlûdah prepared from starch with rose water, cardamom etc., but with the addition of sweet milk.

In the first hour following noon new guests are continually coming along and being distributed in the different apartments. In one or two of these salons *môlids* (extracts from Muhammed's biography) are given, and so the whole festival of this dukhlah day is described as a *môlid*, which alone of all the ceremonies described is enjoined by religion. In the case of the marriage of a youth with a virgin these môlids may go on for three or four days, but as Arabian usage by no means requires the presence of the giver of the feast, the bridegroom may confine himself to coming to the door every time that the guests leave. All the departing guests are sprinkled with rosewater and fumigated with incense, and the bridegroom and his relations, when they pass out of the door, rise and acknowledge their congratulation.

On the evening of the *dukhlah*-day some hundreds of porters (the number is made as large as possible for the sake of effect) carry with absurd pomp through the streets, under the supervision of ten or fifteen trusty men (*umanâ'*), the household gear, which represents the brides dowry, earthenware, wooden and iron implements, carpets, hubble-bubbles, porcelain ware, some of the curious *qassâbahs* (ornamented tripods hung up on the walls for a purpose that has not been explained), in a word, all articles used for household purposes or for the adornment of the house, from her house to her husband's. The trusty men are then given coffee to drink and some candy to take home and are as usual sprinkled and fumigated.

The sunset of this day is followed by the night of *sabhah*. The bride and bridegroom now come together again, but this time in a room in his house. She, like the invited women of the day before, who are now again present, is this time simply dressed for the purpose of making her charms as visible as possible, and she is raised by them on to a simple unadorned bridal throne. The uninvited women of yesterday are present too, but all is done at an early hour after sunset, so that the bridal pair may have a good

[33] A reticulated pastry, composed of macaroni tubes, filled with honey, baked in butter.

[34] A sort of small meat-patties.

nights rest and not be kept up like last night. On the bride's head is only a beautiful wreath (*ta'mîrat ar-râs*) of jasmine instead of the heavy headcovering of the night before. The bridegroom sits opposite her on a small seat. He goes through a similar but less embarrassing quarter of an hour than on the preceeding night, reciting the *fât'hah* and touching her forehead with his hands only, not with coins. Then the two go out to their respective apartments, where they put on the lightest garments, and then to the sleeping-room. Meanwhile the singing girls have been singing merry *dânâ-dânâ*-songs. On the bed is seen under the coverlet the folded stiff little cloth laid by the bride's mother of which the colour is to be the proof of virginity, a proof sometimes, it is said, artificially supplied.

The pair are allowed to spend the night undisturbed. So soon however as they have gone to take their bath, the brides mother hurries to the nuptial couch, takes up the bloodstained rag, and shows it to the ladies who have spent the night there, and they salute this flag of chastity with the proper trilling.

In fine array the married pair sit down together to breakfast. When they have had their fill, the man hands his young wife the *sabhah* or *tasbîhah* (lit. "morning gift") after which the night just past and the day now beginning are called. Sometimes the *sabhah* is a packet of the finest stuff, sometime a signet ring set with diamonds. The wife sets great store on a costly sabhah, for according to it her lady friends measure the love of her husband. "He has given his bride this or that as sabhah" is a piece of news which spreads all over the town.

According to the Law a man should spend three days in succession with his bride; if she is a virgin, he should devote to her seven days. The ladies thus get a pretext to make the seventh day again into a feast day. From about 9 in the morning till evening the bride receives the visits of the invited ladies who have attended the wedding, but they now wear only their ordinary visiting best clothes. There being no show for the public, there are no uninvited spectators. Good cheer, and tea, coffee and pipes are supplied, and sometimes a *dânâ-dânâ*-song is heard but only from amateurs as there are no hired songstresses.

The above is a mere outline of an ordinary marriage, but rich people put in many other expenses, so that it is easy to understand that bankruptcy is often the result. A Mekkan, however deeply in

debt, will rather contract new loans than give up any part of the marriage festivities. If he wanted to take the wiser course he would be prevented by his people and especially by his women.

We have already shown how this almost absurdly pompous introduction of the young couple to married life has very little real significance as of a lifelong union. What is the good of the songs of praise which the girl for once in her life hears, now she is entering into a society which despises her and her whole sex? Moslim literature contains some isolated pieces of true appreciation of woman, but the view which in later times came always more and more to prevail, finds its expression only in the sacred traditions which represent Hell as filled with women, and deny to woman, with some exceptions, understanding or religion; in poems which attribute all evil in the world to woman; in proverbs which condemn as pure extravagance any careful education of girls. So to women is left only to give man by her sexual charms a foretaste of heavenly joys, and to bear him children.

The young man, brought up in these views, regards his intercourse with his wife as almost nothing but sport, and his taste, unripe at the time of marriage, soon developes itself in some new direction, which either brings about a speedy dissolution of the marriage, or, where family considerations prevent this, leads him if not into unnatural vice, into concubinage with a slave woman, when the free wife will be lucky if she has the consolation of children of her own.

We now come to the Mekka usages on the occasion of death. Immediately after death the washer of the corpse is got in, male or female according to the sex of the dead. The washing is done according to fixed rules which need not here be specified.

Meanwhile the neighbours and the wider circle of acquaintances are apprised of the death by the continual loud screaming (*siyâh*) of the women in the house. In Mekka there are no professional paid mourning women. The women of the family vary their shrill weeping and sobbing with exclamations in praise of the deceased: "O my son (or husband or brother) who hast let me make pilgrimage (Hajj) and visit the Holy Tomb at Medina (*ziyârah*), who gavest me fine clothes, O breath of my life! O my eye! My camel (bearer of my burden)!". "Where is the crying?" asks one neighbour of another. "In the house of So and So"! "then either his sick brother

or wife etc. must be dead". The news spreads quickly, and the friends know that they must in a few hours be ready to take part in the funeral. They wait near the house until the corpse is brought out, or they go straight to the mosque where the real procession forms. Some also join it on the way. The service for the dead can by law be performed as well in the house as in a mosque. In Mekka it is almost always performed in the Mosque after the corpse has been set down near the Kaabah.[35] Therefore the inhabitants of Mekka whenever they hear of the death of a relative are accustomed to perform with their friends in the house or the mosque this service for the absent dead and whoever wishes it to be performed with special solemnity gives a present to an Imam to lead the ceremony in the *Haram*. The same prayers for the "absent dead" can however be said at any time even after the interment elsewhere as well as in the mosque itself and can be repeated several times.

As soon as the prayer is over, most of those present form themselves into the funeral procession. In front goes the bier carried by 10 to 16 men; the kinsmen follow, one after the other; then the friends in broad irregular ranks. All unceasingly drone out religious formulae above which repeatedly resounds the *Lâ ilâha illa'llâh*. Where the procession passes, tradesmen in their shops and people sitting in coffeehouses or before their dwellings rise and call the attention of neighbours by the cry: "testify to God's unity" (*wahhidû'llâh*), whereas all join in with "*Lâ ilâha illa'llâh*". Those who meet the procession put their shoulder under the bier for about 20 paces with the same cry, so that the bearers are continually changing. Then they turn round, kiss each kinsman of the deceased on the right shoulder, and utter the customary formula of condolence.

Every evil that befalls the believer on this earth will, according to Moslim doctrine, be repaid him in the next world as a pious deed, if it is borne without murmuring. When a Moslim visits a sick friend he consoles him, after the introductory formula: "no

[35] According to Azraqî it was an old custom to bring the corpse into the mosque, but this was not done in his time. The celebrated Ḥanafite Qâḍi Qutb ad-dîn, who wrote chronicles of Mekka about the end of the tenth century. A.H. mentions the custom as generally observed in his time, adding that the Shâfi'ites considered it as recommendable and the Hanafites as prohibited, and he boasts of having found a text which allows this great privilege to the Hanafites also. His text removed all objections against the pollution of the Temple.

evil be upon thee! (*lâ bâs ʿaleik*)", with the assurance of the great heavenly reward (*ajr*) which his suffering will bring him. Hence the formula of condolence appointed by law "may God make thy reward great" to which one also generally adds the words: "may God replace thy loss by what is good". The answer to this is: "God reward thee with good".

As soon as the procession has reached the Maala-cemetery, the corpse is let down into the grave without further ceremony. A kinsman of the deceased has brought a great basket full of loaves which he distributes among the needy faqîhs (Qur'an reciters) and other poor in the cemetery, whereupon the faqîhs in the name of the dead recite a short piece of the Qur'an. When the people have left the graveyard, a man charged with the task remains behind to prepare the dead by whispering in his ear (*talqîn*) for the examination in his faith to which he will be subjected by the two angels.

Near the entrance of the graveyard the kinsmen stand in order of age to receive the offered formulae of condolence. All who have taken part in the interment kiss the right shoulder of each of these, whereupon the above mentioned formulae are exchanged. The many acquaintances who have been too late to attend the funeral wait near the house of death and offer their condolences to the mourner on their return.

For some days after the death ceremonies are performed the purely religious character of which excludes any profane noise. These ceremonies have nothing to do with mourning, and their main purpose is to send after the beloved dead some pious work so as to make more tolerable to him the trial of the tomb and the coming of the last day. It has already been mentioned that to increase the credit in Heaven of dead relatives recitations are performed, of the Qur'an especially. For this purpose on the evening of the day of death after sunset friends come to the house of death without invitation. Coffee is served, but the meal, formerly usual, is now omitted by the better families in accordance with a *fetwa* (legal opinion) of the Muftî of the Shâfiʿites Ahmad Dahlân. This *fetwa*, published by Sèyyid Bekrî in his work *Iʿânat at-tâlibîn*, points out that the Prophet, far from enjoining such a meal, recommended that the neighbours should supply the house of death with the necessary food, so that the occupants might be free from the daily cares of life. Ahmad Dahlân prays the authorities to prohibit strictly this bad custom. After coffee a piece of the Qur'an (one

thirtieth of the whole) is handed to each of the friends in a small thin volume. It is true there are generally more than thirty present, but many cannot read, or are little skilled in recitation, and so only give by their presence testimony of their good will.

Reading aloud then goes on for about two hours; then on a signal given the books are given up, and some one of the house starts a prayer (*takhtîm*) consisting of such formulae as are always used to close a reading of the whole Qur'an. All join in certain parts of this prayer, the *fât'hahs* for instance, and some praise formulae ("there is no God but God, and God is great, and to Him praise belongs" and so forth). Peculiar to this prayer is a petition for forgiveness of any faults that may have been committed in reading out the Qur'an, and also the supplication that God may put to the credit of the dead the reward of the same reading. That the dead one may get credit for it is the object of all such good works as this reading. The second and third evenings are similarly spent in reciting, only that on the third evening at the close small round cakes (*felâsî*) are served. Reading may take place, though not obligatory, on the succeeding three evenings also, but it is almost obligatory that on the seventh evening a special solemn reading of the Qur'an and of a *môlid* (biography) of the Prophet should be performed by some hired learned faqîhs. On that seventh evening first the usual reading by guests takes place. Then most of the guests leave, and then before the more intimate acquaintances the experts perform, each taking up a part of the Qur'an where another has left off. This lasts a few hours: after midnight when the closing prayer is recited in common, a faqîh reads a *môlid* (sacred biography).

On the 20th and 40th and sometimes also the 100th day after death the same ceremony is repeated. Then there is a pause until the yearly anniversary of death (*haul*). On the *hauls* there are regular *môlids* and *qirâyahs* (Qur'an-recitings) concluded like other môlids with a meal. And this goes on until a new generation has forgotten the haul of the dead as well as the dead himself.

If anyone in Mekka learns that some near relative has died in another place, he at once has the ceremonies, not only the services, but also the *qirâyah* with its accessories, performed in his house with the large audience, no matter how many days have past since the death. One of us is astonished by the materialistic spirit in which even pious people prepare for such ceremonies. It shows however how all this has nothing to do with mourning. A son who

has first heard of his father's death will consult with his friends how and where he is to buy the cake and rice for the *môlid*. He has not much time and so would like to get some faqîhs who would get through the Qur'an as quickly as possible. Four specialists who will be moderate in their demand are recommended to him. They are not good artists and their voices are not good, but they are accurate and incredibly quick. In this way business is done in a good commercial fashion with the heavenly bookkeeper.

We have so far said nothing of the women, except in regard to their screaming (*siyâh*) and crying, for they take no part in the ceremonies which we have described, and in the Law they have quite another rule of mourning than the men, and besides they have all sorts of customs which diverge from the Law.

The law of mourning takes account of the delicate nature of woman, and allows her a livelier expression of her feelings than the man. For the widow the time of mourning is fixed at four months and ten days, during which she may neither contract nor prepare a new marriage, may allow herself no special adornments, may only in case of need leave the house of death, and may indulge in no sort of luxury. This is the *ʿiddah*. The same name is given to the mourning time of women for dead relatives and friends, which should be at most three days.

In Mekka women generally mourn for their relations by blood or marriage longer than the right time. According to the degree of relationship, "custom" demands a period (which is here called *ʿuddah*) of between two and four months. White clothes are during this time considered the best; but green and black are also used, and only red and reddish are carefully avoided. Without entirely giving up ornaments they regard some special kinds of ornament as unbecoming for the time of mourning; but all this is pure convention, and has nothing to do with real thoughts of mourning. For the rest they spend their best efforts, not only on the day of death, but also for some days afterwards, in screaming.

The length of the screaming time depends on that of the whole time of mourning (*ʿuddah*) but is never more than about twenty days. During this period the women daily at any hour await visits from their female friends who will help them in their practice. Coffee, tea, and other refreshments are of course not wanting. Human

infirmity and feminine habit of course cause the screaming to be frequently interrupted by ordinary gossip. But when a new visitor comes in, the screaming is at once, after the ordinary greetings, again taken up. The more skilled give the above mentioned ejaculations in praise of the dead, while the rest join in with "oh" and "woe", with screeching and sobbing. When a woman has died, each female friend who is practised in the art can join in the laudatory ejaculations. In regard to a man, this is of course seemly only for his widow and kinswomen.

All the screaming immediately after the death and also at the moment of the bringing out of the corpse, is simply called *siyâh*. The concerts in the first days of the *ʿuddah* are called *taʿdîd*. Although real grief may be expressed in this traditional form, generally the *taʿdîd* on the occasion of death has become as conventional an art as the *ghatrafah* on joyful occasions. In circles of women one of them will be praised as an accomplished artist in *ghatrafah* and another for skill in *taʿdîd*. In both performances the lungs, throat and tongue are exercised, mostly without any real feeling.

In many other respects too the women behave on the occasion of death in a way which is most repugnant to learned Moslims. When for instance the corpse of an eminent sèyyid or sherîf, learned man, or mystic, is washed, they press forward and take some of the dripping water to wet their hands and faces or even sometimes to drink! So, even after his death, many a learned man might tell women, what he has told them in life: — Ye are of a corrupted nature!"

PART III

LEARNING IN MEKKA

Along with the religion Muhammed gave his Arabs the beginnings of a learning. Before him the poets had, it is true, been called men of knowledge (*shâʿir*), and, besides accomplishments required for certain trades, there were certain branches of knowledge which were handed down by tradition in small circles of people, as magic, soothsaying, healing, the decision of the paternity of a new-born child, and so forth. In the opinion of the believers, the unlearned Prophet put an end to the time of "ignorance" (*jâhiliyyah*), and the knowledge of those pagans was called a trick of the Devil. Only by the revelation was divine wisdom in some sort made accessible to men, and the last, the Arabic, Book of God was brought by the messenger who prided himself upon his ignorance of letters. The word of Allah was henceforth for all who believed in Muhammed the source of true knowledge, which however in many respects only became accessible through the instruction of the Prophet.

God and His messenger however have imparted no sort of systematic instruction in any domain of knowledge. Neither the culture nor the character of Muhammed was suited thereto. Also he did not aim at completeness, as his task was only to communicate to his ignorant people that instruction which other people had long since known and followed as the norm of life. So long as the Prophet was addressing the word chiefly to unbelievers, that is until the *Hijrah*, his oracles imparted threats, promises, pictures of the day of judgment, and exemplary stories from Holy Writ. Detailed rules of living were not needed by the little community. After the *Hijrah* Muhammed stands forth as God's organ in the midst of his ever increasing adherents who have recourse to him in every difficulty. He is leader and lawgiver, but performs the latter function sparingly, as he sees the danger of committing himself by laying down divine decisions, or bringing the heavenly word into discredit by frequent changes. Most of the legislative parts of the Qur'an have evidently been issued after long deliberation and as the only means of ending quarrels in the community or opposition to the

Prophet's authority. There is little theorizing or stating of general principles. This was not due only to the prudence of Muhammed. Even his most believing adherents were no theoricians, and their life continued, notwithstanding the enormous revolution of Islam, to be so strongly rooted in Arab soil that they did not subject traditional laws and customs to criticism in accordance with Islamic principles by pure inclination. However that may be, every serious problem was to the Moslims a religious one, to be decided only by the word of Allah as explained for the particular case by Muhammed.

After Muhammed the next generation were much severer critics of heathendom than he himself, and new questions, practical and theoretical, were continually arising. Medina, for the first thirty years the seat of Moslim government, was also the forum in which these questions were mooted. These questions were not less important for life and doctrine than those decided by Muhammed himself, and like those they required decision by divine authority. The mouth through which Allah had spoken to mankind was closed for ever, so there was no means left of asking for divine decisions, and the small code that had been left, containing all the words of Allah, was insufficient, however artfully amplified and interpreted. Recourse was had to extra-Qur'anic sayings of the Prophet, which were attributed to him without much scruple about their authenticity, and any one of these sayings soon became equal in authority to a verse of the Qur'an. Thus words of the Prophet handed down by uncritical tradition or designedly altered could be quoted in support of every view of dogma or law that found credit in any Moslim circle. He who cannot see such streams of tendency in the collections of traditions must be devoid of all historical sense or never have compared with each other the different traditions concerning one subject. As every Christian sect claims for itself the only correct interpretation of the Gospel, so every Moslim party assumed that they alone were following the true word and example of Muhammed. In the Moslim Church everybody attributed to the dead Prophet not only his own spirit but also his own letter; but most of the schisms which these differences of opinion gave rise to for centuries were always sooner or later healed by the strong catholic instinct of Islam, so that the majority were kept together in the middle way.

During the first thirty years, when Medina was still the seat of the executive and legislative power, the decisions given in those traditions were of the greatest practical importance. There were small beginnings of abstract theological controversy, but most attention was directed to practical questions. The passing of the Khalifate from the hands of the Prophet's companions into those of the worldly-wise but little religiously disposed Omayyades denotes the beginning of a certain separation of State and Church. The former began to have its centre in Damascus, the latter in Medina, and from these centres both spread over the whole Moslim world, always hostilely regarding each other, sometimes in open enmity, sometimes in temporary alliance, sometimes going each its own way and carefully keeping apart, while the Khalifs kept up their pretension to leadership even on the holiest territory of Islam and the successors of the "companions" on the other hand would not give up their at any rate theoretical disapproval of the secularisation of Islam.

Before long the leaders in Medina came to the conclusion that they must confine themselves within the domain of theory and submit to the actual political predominance of Damascus. Thus arose the oldest "school" of Islam, and "learning" was withdrawn from the hitherto prevailing influence of practical considerations, though political and social requirements had still to some extent to be regarded, but as the most important affairs were arranged without considering the opinion of the Doctors, these had no reason for concealing their disapproval of the administration in general. Further the rise of the school had also its consequence in its occupation mainly with theoretical questions. This was increased by Jews and Christians coming over to Islam. Muhammed had taught that the "people of the Scripture" knew many things to which he had only alluded. It is true that he had afterwards accused them of falsification of the Scriptures, but the danger of partial falsification ceased as soon as they adopted the true faith. Thus it became possible to Muhammed's followers who had a desire for knowledge to fill up the gaps left by Muhammed with the help of the people of the Scripture.

The sacred canonical collections of traditions of the Prophet are our chief source of knowledge of the subjects that occupied the Doctors of the first centuries of Islam, for during all that period all important results of discussion were attributed to the Prophet. It must be remembered that outside this canon there are many

other such traditions of which a part is preserved in literature. In the traditions all questions which in the narrower sense belong to religion find their solution, and are not yet formally divided into questions of dogma, sacred history and morals, Muhammed being the source of truth in every department. The same may be said of jurisprudence, or rather of the laws regulating all life and thought, the usages of the dress and personal cleanliness of believers appearing not less important than the choice of Khalîfs and the laws of taxation. The same authorities decide with like confidence, by formal reference to the Prophet, medical questions, questions of the religious formulae that are to replace the old Arabic healing magic, and questions of remedies and diet, while the question whether diseases are inherited or spread by contagion is a subject of discussion. In short every important question, of which the solution was not at once attainable by human understanding, was treated in the same way in the schools of Tradition in the name of God and His instruments, and in spite of threatening divergencies unity in all the most important matters was attained, the consciousness of catholicity being so powerful that the "general agreement" (*Ijmâ'*) of the faithful could soon be admitted as a controlling authority along with God's book and the tradition of Muhammed's words and deeds. In spite of the violence of discussions, the "difference of opinion" (*Ikhtilâf*) was considered in dominating circles as of so little importance that it was represented as a gift of God's grace to the community.

The formation of the tradition took about two hundred years. In the later parts of tradition we find clear proofs that the Arabic development of knowledge was not sufficient for all Moslims, for we find there opinions rejected formally in the name of Muhammed which had arisen from foreign soil. In Muhammedan Western Asia and North-East Africa Hellenism had entered into all forms of research. Formally even the clerical learning had undergone that influence, but outside the dominion of religion in these countries the whole way of thinking of the higher circles showed the effect of the grafting of Greek shoots on the Oriental stems. This higher degree of culture was not able to protect the politically disturbed provinces against the invasion of the Arabs united by Islam, and the miraculous victories of Islam were even followed by the con-

version of the masses, but thought had not been caught in the net of the simple learning described above. In this domain of thought the conquered showed their preponderance as soon as they had acquired a knowledge of the Arabic language.

This propaedeusis was at the cost of considerable labour to those non-Arabs, but the way in which they founded the science of the Arabic language showed at once the difference between systematic research and the chaotic collection and interpretation of prophetical utterances. Now, if this systematic method had only touched propaedeutic subjects like Arabic grammar, rhetoric, logic, poetic art, collections of Arabic poems and compilations of dictionaries, then the students of traditions might have had no objection, although it might have displeased them that more attention was given to the products of pre-Islamic paganism than they deemed necessary as an introduction to the sacred learning. In fact, however, it went so far that those subjects which the doctors considered only as instruments were considered by wide circles of secularly educated people as ends in themselves. It was still worse when the foreign fresh methods of logic were applied in Syria and Babylonia to the sacred knowledge itself. An outcry was raised in the Harameyn, in the two holy cities, Mekka and Medina, but they no longer possessed their ancient authority over all Islam. The displeasure of the doctors of Mekka and Medina could not annul the fact that the doctors of Syria and Babylonia represented an important part of the community, and as Islam does not recognize a difference between old and new Moslims and as it founds the authority of the doctors on the infallibility of the community which they represent, the old-fashioned divines were obliged to accept the challenge.

In the department of the interpretation of the Law the advantage was on their side, as the Law had already been thoroughly worked up by Arabs in Arabia. In the cultured lands they adopted the pronounced decisions so far as they were fitted to the local circumstances, sometimes explaining them a little arbitrarily, and they assumed the right of solving every new problem independently. From the point of view of later times this gave rise to no differences of principle. Every later generation had increasing difficulty in mastering the texts of Qur'an and Tradition from which the legal rules were deduced, and practically the most necessary thing was knowledge of the *results* of the labours of previous generations. Therefore the traditionists soon gave up their opposition to the

separation of *Fiqh* (knowledge of Law) from the knowledge of its sources — for the majority of doctors it was sufficient to know what the authorities of their country considered as rightly deduced from the sources of Law. The study of the sources itself after the separation came to belong to higher scholarship, and to be a luxury.

Thus in *Fiqh* the rules of the Law divided into a certain number of chapters were categorically taught on the authority of the leading men. The exegesis of the Qur'an, the explanation of traditions, and the theory of deduction (*usûl al-fiqh*), came to be special subjects studied only by those who after having accomplished the propaedeutic studies and Fiqh still had time and capacity. For logic there was little place in the expounding of the Law. Under the influence of non-Arabian science, certain half-logical methods penetrated into the further development of the Law, but the "modern" science was in consideration of the illogical material obliged to admit that here reason had to retire before the undeniable testimony of tradition.

The Moslim has thus been in the course of centuries continually further removed from a direct understanding of the words of God and of Muhammed. The different views (and differences have never been quite obliterated) have ranged themselves into a number, which has gradually been decreased to four "rites", *madhabs* or schools, which schools mutually regard one another as equally justified. With the exception of the Shi'ites and of some less important sects every Moslim must now profess adherence to one of these four *madhabs*, unconditionally accept its interpretation of the Law, and if he aspires to a study of the sources, see everything through the spectacles with which he has been provided by generations of pundits. The study of the Qur'an and the Traditions has thus lost its practical importance, but on the other hand the use of the Qur'an for ritual purposes is in full vigour and takes up a great part of the student's time. What one has learnt of Qur'an recitation at school wants perfecting in the case of a man who is going to study and who has to acquire the highest accomplishment of the difficult art of the *tajwîd* (intonation, pronunciation and various readings of the Qur'an).

Not so easily as in the department of Law did the old and new knowledge come to terms in the department of dogmatic religion. In Islam as elsewhere heresy and infidelity assisted the birth of an

orthodox dogmatic theology. The skill shown by Muʿtazilites in their argumentation forced the orthodox to take up a position against them on each point, though the orthodox would have preferred to meet all objections by mere repetition of the old texts. While the study of Law had to make concessions to the new fashion in externals only, in the contest over dogmas a new department appeared in which the handed down texts were weighed together, harmonised, and defended against heresy and unbelief with the new-fashioned weapons of dialectic. A logical articulated system was indeed not attained, as the space allowed to each matter depended not on its importance for the system but on the greater or less violence of the strife waged about it. The dogmatists put up at length with formal logic and some technical philosophical terms as indispensable arms against heresy, but were much distressed by the fact that many Moslims through their acquaintance with Hellenistic philosophising fell into ways which they thought erroneous. Logic and philosophy, said the theologians, should remain mere instruments like the Arabic language and literature.

Islam as such, like every dogmatic system, has always been unfriendly to natural science and to mathematics. The pious mind of a layman does not necessarily exclude the study of physics, although that study does not encourage his pious state of mind. But the representatives of sacred science are almost obliged to condemn enquiries into the laws of creation. There can be no laws of nature, but only a "habit of the Creator" (*ʿâdat al-Khâliq*), who may at any time make the sun rise in the west. These sciences however still rose high in Islam, and, had it not been for the general ruin of Moslim culture, would not have been intimidated by the *ʿulamâ*. But the pure experimental sciences have never belonged to the knowledge of Islam any more than our astronomy has belonged to the knowledge of Christianity. Arithmetic was needed for the application of the Law of inheritance, and some practical astronomy for the calendar and for the fixing of daily prayer times and of the proper prayer posture (*qiblah*) towards Mekka; but these and such like subjects should not be made into departments of independent research.

In Islam in its highest developments human acts and thoughts in their smallest details were brought under cramping rules, but

religious feeling was almost neglected. The most accurate observation of innumerable rules did not satisfy the spiritual wants of people with mystical aspirations; it did not give them the desired direct communication with God.

Now Qur'an and Sacred Tradition contained indeed some elements of a mystical attitude, and by Christian, Persian and Indian influences these germs were developed so as to bring pious souls into closer personal contact with God. To them the Law and the orthodox Dogma became only preparatory instruments to reach the stage of Love. In India Islam found even elaborate mystical systems which it had to assimilate, because they were not to be suppressed. All such currents of thought were felt as dangerous phenomena by the official representatives of Islam.

It could not be agreeable to the *'ulamâ*, when godly men founded congregations, in which the "Brethren" sought to acquire true salvation and real gnosis by ways leading far beyond the Law and the orthodox Creed. How then, when many mystics in principle disdained the ordinary means of salvation and by bold allegorical interpretations derived their strange methods and extravagant practices from the letter of the Sacred Texts?

Just as the traditional doctors had once combated the dogmatical scholars as innovators, thus now both parties opposed the dangerous mystical movement. In the long run however the catholic instinct of Islam made it impossible to the authorities to excommunicate illumined intellectuals and the great mass of laymen revering them. Mystic acquired its own place in Sacred Learning and gradually came to take the place of honour.

The great work of Ghazâlî (d. 1111 A.D.): Vivification of the Sciences of Religion has been recognised down to our time as a standard encyclopedia of sacred doctrine. He teaches that the instrumental branches must indeed be diligently studied, but only so that the Arabic grammar, poetic, and rhetoric, as well as arithmetic, logic and philosophy, may be used as means to attain the understanding of the holy literature. To his praise of Qur'an-reciting he adds, in conformity with his mystic tendency, the recommendation to think of the meaning while engaged in it, for only thus can the exercise, which rightly precedes all other studies, become useful for the spiritual life. On the *Fiqh*, the science of Law, he sets the

highest store: into the properly religious part thereof a man cannot look too deeply; the study of its other prescriptions has special worth in so far as it can be used in life or in juristic or judicial practice. Ghazâlî thus combats the too prevailing tendency to casuistry. He who can occupy himself with the exegesis of the Qur'an and of the Holy Tradition, should certainly do so; but as sources of Law the texts are only to be used by trained theologians and by them in combination with methodology (*Usûl al-fiqh*). The majority, even of the learned, are safest if they confine themselves to the assimilation of the results which have been secured in their particular ritual school of Islam by inquiry into the sources.

As the *Fiqh* with its ancillary sciences is the staff of life of all believers, so is dogmatic theology (*'ilm al-kalâm*, or *'ilm al-usûl*, or *'ilm at-tawhîd*) the medicine for the spiritually sick. As infidelity and heresy are everywhere at work, the whole Moslim community is to be considered as more or less ill, and thus everybody is nowadays in want of a little medicine, medicine which was unknown, because unneeded, in the age of faith, the happy first age of Islam. The artisan, however, to take an example, is not so exposed to the disease of infidelity or heresy as the man of learning; it is enough for the former then to know the chief dogmas by formulating which Islam has branded heresy. Those who move in more dangerous circles are to be equipped with the instruments of apologetics, and in the interests of the community there must be a guild of learned men who make dialectic and philosophy their chief occupation so as to have well provided apologetic arsenals ready for every attack. For salvation the spiritual nourishment is as insufficient as the medicine; these both are only able to save men from such spiritual corruption as becomes clear already in their earthly life. True faith and true knowledge can be reached only by the way of mysticism, although knowledge of and obedience to the Law, as well as orthodox faith are indispensable conditions. Any mysticism that declares Law to be abolished for certain cases, or teaches new dogmas, is from the Devil. The true mystic life (*tasawwuf*) leads the man who has been prepared by the study of Law and Creed by a long gradation not only to complete obedience towards and complete knowledge of God, but even to the living God himself.

This purpose is served by an extensive spiritual training which comprises extraordinary religious exercises, chanting (*dhikrs*), fasting, watching, etc., and a continual concentration of the mind on the

being or essence of God. The method to be followed varies with the different character and endowment of the individual; a general rule, good for all cases, cannot be laid down. The highest aim can be attained only by the guidance of one who has risen to high rank in mysticism, a guide (*murshid*). In laying this down Ghazâlî was thinking of the many pretentious and jealous orders of mystics that were already flourishing in his time. Though no doubt displeased with the disorder of most of the mystic brotherhoods, he did not venture to suggest individual self-training as sufficient, and so he is partly responsible for the abuses of the present brotherhoods. He only warns seekers (*murîds*) of God against guides of doubtful orthodoxy. A certain measure of *tasawwuf* is however made possible by Ghazâlî's great work to representatives of knowledge without entering into a mystic order.

We might have mentioned many other disciplines which, though not belonging to the science of Islam, have been zealously cultivated by Moslims, especially in Mekka, and also some studies, as for example the different branches of historical inquiry, into which Islam has introduced quite peculiar methods. We were however the more inclined to confine ourselves to the above sketch as the decay of the Moslim culture has brought the almost entire ruin of profane sciences, while in the department of sacred knowledge in the last centuries men have known no higher aim than the preservation of the indispensable results of past activity wherein Ghazâlî's programme has come to be accepted as the highest ideal.

Before we enter the huge lecture hall of Mekka, the great mosque or *Haram*, to hear the professors of the above described theological cycle, let us give some examples of research that is carried on outside that cycle. Medicine, as we have already shown, is a mere trade and not a study, except that some individual amateur may get hold of an Arabic medical work and use some passages out of it as occasion may require. The *rèyyis* (chief of muaddhins and also astronomer of the mosque) and some lovers of knowledge understand the mysteries of the calendar and the interpretation of some celestial phenomena. Alchemy is the subject of the vain study of sundry Mekkans. I have known sherîfs come from time to time

with yellowish results of their alchemistic endeavour to the doctor above mentioned, to be shown by his touchstone that all is not gold that glitters. One literary man whom I knew spent his whole substance on alchemy, and then, having lost with his worldly goods all interest in the world, devoted himself entirely to the pursuit of religious knowledge. Even the Sheikh of the sèyyids was a gold-seeker. No wonder that this science working in darkness continues to be always pursued. Is not profit the chief object of every spiritual and material activity of these Moslims? The question of profit obtains a satisfactory answer from alchemy so long as this science is believed in. Even pious people, who would not get gold by forbidden sorcery, know that God can depart from His habit and can make one element pass into another as He made the staff of Moses into a serpent, for it is said in the Qur'an (20: 20–21), "He spoke: 'Throw it Oh Moses?' Then he threw it and Lo it became a serpent running". But a Mekkan will deny the use of the products of modern science such as steam and telegraphy, which, he will say, are in truth not new discoveries, and have brought more evil than good, and also of modern medicine, which he says has availed nought against death.

Geography is of interest on several practical sides. The countries of origin of pilgrims, the trade, government, and prospect for strangers in those countries are asked about by the Mekkan. He is on the other hand indifferent about the situation of Paris or London. I once heard an eminent man of learning who had read of Spain (Andalus) in history books, and who, on account of the recent war (Russo-Turkish) took an interest in the land of the Moscovs (Russia), ask whether there was communication by land between the two countries and how many days a caravan (of laden camels) would take between them. Only a much travelled man knows such things. From olden times history, in so far as not connected with sacred doctrine (as in the biography of the Prophet and his companions), has been recommended as containing "warning examples for those who would be warned". Historians have however been actuated by other motives as well: thus they have treated of the history of their native place for the entertainment of their fellow citizens, and of the history of a dynasty in the hope of reward from the reigning prince. In Mekka since the third century after the Hijrah the Kaabah with its surroundings has formed the centre of interest for historians of the town, and since the sixth century the ruling

house of the Sherifs has been a second centre. Down to our days there have been learned men occupying their leisure in the important events in the life of the holy city. It may be said in general of the historians of each that the Moslim *consensus* has had as powerful an influence over them as over the lawyers. In each age the events of the past must be looked at through the spectacles of that age. Controversies of the past which have been since composed in catholic unionist fashion, must no longer be recorded. Thus Muâwiyah, Ali, and Abdallah ibn Zubeir are in Mekka each given the title of "Our Lord" and to a certain extent venerated as fathers of the Church. The heathenish forefathers of Muhammed are in the Prophet's biography by Ahmed Zênî Dahlân, the Mekka Muftî of the Shafi'ites (ob. 1886) represented as believing Moslims and professors of the religion of Abraham. It is praiseworthy that with little or no contemporary demand for their productions Mekkan chroniclers to record the most important events of the city have never been wanting. Even though not more than a few dozen learned men took an interest in them, it would be dangerous enough to give too much publicity to these records, which criticised affairs of state and high personages. When I was in Mekka the circulation of Ahmed Dahlân's history of the Sherifate was confined to about six copies, and in these the last four sheets were commonly missing. The famous world history of Ibn al-Athîr is to be found in the libraries of some of the learned; also the biographical dictionary of old Ibn Khallikân, and other biographical works, generally each containing the lives of the famous men of one particular century, reaching down to our own time, are much read and used for the display of erudition on suitable occasions.

Works of history and biography which are connected with the sacred doctrine are in more demand, such as the lives of Muhammed and his companions, of the founders of mystic orders and recognised schools, and in general of the saints. Such productions are read in friendly gatherings, but edification, rather than instruction about the past, is sought in them. A characteristic example is the *Sîrah* (biography of the Prophet) of Ahmed Dahlân, who says in the introduction that there have been more than enough of such works, but that they contained more data for criticism of sources and more comparative estimates of different versions than were needed by students of the present day, and he therefore had only imparted facts to the best of his knowledge, and especially the

points in which the men of our time could take an interest. The extremely favourable reception accorded to this quite uncritical and largely legendary narrative shows, how well the learned Muftî has understood the spirit of his time. Of similar tone is the same servant's compilation, the "History of Moslim conquests"[1] which was printed during my stay in Mekka in the Government printing press, which had lately been opened there.

Until that press began work, the reading public of Mekka was almost entirely supplied from Cairo. In Cairo too, works of Mekkan writers, but almost exclusively works of a religious character, were printed. As an example, the "Six Discourses" of the Mekkan Sheikh Haqqî, printed in Cairo in 1882, may be given, which treat of most various subjects, but are pervaded with the tone of warning against the prevailing inroads of modern unlawful usages and infidel culture. The close shows the spirit of the whole: "Among the "things that lead into Hell is this that the devils in these times "have put into the heads of Christians and other God-abandoned "people to place on all wares that are used by man pictures of "living creatures so that there is now hardly a house, shop, market, "bath, fortress, or ship without pictures" (an allusion perhaps to the often indecent pictures on Austrian matchboxes) "while to the "Angels of Grace no room is left without pictures for them to "descend into, except the mosques and a few other places preserved "by God. Even into our mosques pictures come, for most people, "when they come to prayer, have with them little packets of "cigarettes and tobacco on which there are pictures; so I warn you "O brethren! etc.".[2] In the same book a certain mode of reciting the fifty sixth chapter of the Qur'an is recommended as an unfailing preventive against impoverishment, and it is also said that if a modest woman hangs this chapter round her neck, it will bring about the desired abortion.

---

[1] This work contains a universal history from the Moslim point of view from the time of Muhammed till the year 1885.

[2] The traditions against pictures of living beings are very widely known. The makers of such pictures will be most heavely punished on the last day, and the angels of grace will not enter a house in which such pictures are. A travelled Sherîf, who had brought photographs and chromo-lithographs from the East Indies, in my presence answered the reproaches of his pious brother, who had never been outside Mekka, by saying that he himself had not made the pictures, and that as for the angels, they might do their porter's work outside the door. He had, like other sherîfs, amassed much money from pious princelets in the East Indies, otherwise his relatives would have certainly turned him out of the house for this frivolous speech.

Little collections of anecdotes, extracts from the "Arabian Nights" or "Antar", and so forth are more popular, and are read out for a small fee in cafés of evenings. Men of culture despise such entertainments; the enlightened sons of Egypt are as is well known amazed at the taste of Europeans who delight in the Arabian Nights. A man of culture will at the most only allow his wife to tell him such old wives' tales when he cannot sleep. Women are the true handers on of these old stories, which in their mouths gradually change in form though remaining in essence the same.

There are some bibliomaniacs with jealously treasured collections of books bought for their rarity. I knew one such who as a great favour for a service I had rendered him showed me a part of his treasure consisting of some translations printed in Egypt of European manuals, considered as curiosities on account of their strange contents, and an old manuscript of precious annotations on the Qur'an (*Kîtâb al-fawâ'id wal-ʿawâ'id waz-zawâ'id*), being a literary "tour de force" which could be read with different meanings from left to right, right to left, and top to bottom. I had no opportunity of judging whether he had by chance acquired anything of real value. On the title pages of his books there were always poems in praise of the contents, saying that the book was worth its weight in gold and that the owner who lent it, must be mad. This man, who was very rich, boasted how he had got the better of a friend, who was a rival collector. This friend after years of entreaty lent him a very rare manuscript for one night, so that it might be impossible to copy it in the time, but he cut it up into several parts, gave them to copyists, and had the copy completed by the next day, when he returned it to its owner skilfully bound as before. Had it not been a friend he might have gone away with the treasure until a copy could be made. He was now looking for a copy of a commentary in forty volumes on the *Ihyâ* of Ghazâlî, of which only a few copies, that were in Morocco, existed.

Collections of old Arabic poems with commentaries, books on *Adab* like the *ʿIqd*, and more especially Harîrî's *Maqâmât* (Assemblies), which are often partly or wholly committed to memory, are much studied by the learned. These studies are highly valued as being indirectly useful for sacred doctrine, and it is a mark of high culture for young men to recite some assemblies or some poem at

qêlahs (picnics). There is no special age for the commencement of such studies, which depends on the degree of erudition of the father of the family. The same may be said of the highly prized art of calligraphy. The writing lessons given by the Qur'an schoolmaster suffice for ordinary purposes, but he who wishes to give his son a high education entrusts him for some hours daily to a skilled calligraphist. One boy will learn the *khatt* (handwriting) immediately after he has left the children's school, while another puts it off for some years. When the disciple has had enough of the study, he writes a beautiful test sheet after a famous model. This sheet, framed in a finely ornamented border, consists generally of some sacred traditions or pious sayings. In the border itself are frequently read the names of God, his Apostle and the first four Khalîfs.

Much less than in calligraphy can the Moslim after completion of his course in the Qur'an school consider himself perfect in the difficult art of reading aloud the Qur'an (*qirâyah*). Even Arabs find it difficult to acquire the proper traditional pronunciation of Arabic consonants for the purpose of devotional exercises, and still more so the nasalising and other tone-nuances that are precisely prescribed for Qur'an-recitation. An European savant, physically well equipped, will in favourable circumstances take a week to learn to recite tolerably the first Surah consisting of only seven verses of the Qur'an.

I shall never forget the first Friday night on which I attended in the house of the Shafi'ite *Muftî* the weekly recital of parts of the Qur'an by the most eminent reciters. I had already heard several times performances of that art done with different degrees of skill, so that the *qirâyah* as such was quite familliar to me. Various melodies are allowed for these recitations, and an ordinary reciter confines himself to one to which he has been accustomed from his childhood. Specialists however, such as I found on that night, combine the most difficult pronunciation with the most intricate melodies, and moreover their entire tone varies with the contents of the text. The tone is quietest in the narrative parts, but in God's call to the unbelievers there is a roaring and a weeping which contagiously affect the listeners, and a terrifying mocking laughter that seems indeed rather hellish than heavenly in the part where it is said, that God in the end outwits the cunningest sinners. It needs long experience to be able to judge of these recitations. The inexperienced observer is bewildered by the swaying

of the body, by the excessively high tones, the performer having sometimes to stop his ears to his own screaming while his veins swell almost to bursting, and by the unaesthetic interruption of apparent ecstasy by a terrible coughing sound. Just as the European before being able to get an impression of the character of Orientals must have got accustomed to their clothing, colour, etc., so as not to consider them any more as strange, so he has to forget the peculiarities of the unknown form of this music before he begins by and by to 'hear'. I am convinced that any European who was to attend a recitation like that described above would go home with the impression of a horrible fanatical din. The performers are however generally quite free from fanaticism, and are to be looked upon rather as artists such as our opera singers, who excite emotions which they do not themselves feel.

These artists are as vain, jealous and capricious as artists are in Europe. When they are not satisfied with their pay, or their vanity is offended, they will recite negligently, and their greatest pleasure is publicly to convict a highly reputed colleague of a fault in reading. The public does not attribute the miraculous effect of the recitation on the human heart to the skill of the reciters, but to the "word of God" which is the Qur'an, the greatest of the many miracles of Islam, which as is generally believed, is at once recognised as a voice from Heaven by the wild Bedouin hearing it for the first time, and which when recited by skilled artists, moves even the stony-hearted to sighing and weeping and to ejaculations at each pause of "Oh Lord" (*Yâ rabbî*), "God is Great" (*Allâhu akbar*), and the like. Such ejaculations indeed accompany all recitations, even profane ones, and are as indispensable supports to the artist as hand clapping is with us.

Men with sufficient physical gifts and sufficient memory may become highly esteemed Qur'an-reciters (that is, able correctly to drone out some part or parts of the Qur'an) without being able to read.[3] For students of theology this accomplishment of reciting is considered indispensable, and to learn the whole Qur'an by heart is an object of their ambition.

---

[3] It is now time to give up the erroneous translations of Qur'an by 'reading', and qara'a by 'to read'. Muhammed and his companions were most of them illiterate, but nevertheless all of them did Qur'an. In the Qur'an itself sometimes the divine service is called Qur'an from the singing, recitation, 'Qur'an' of sacred texts which forms a chief part of the service (Qur'an 17: 80).

This art of reciting (*tajwîd*) is learnt privately in the houses of teachers or *faqîhs*, and is practised by the students themselves on their own account, in the mornings especially, in unoccupied spaces of the Mosque. In the Mosque also such students will sometimes practise under the guidance of a teacher. But even in such cases this does not belong to the official course of lessons given in the mosque under the control of the Sheikh al-Ulamâ, though sometimes an official professor will give a lecture on the theory of recitation (*tajwîd*), that is, he reads an authoritative text on the places in the mouth where sounds are formed, on the intonation, the length, the nasalisation of the sounds in the Qur'an and a commentary on the text. Generally however this sort of instruction is given in private houses.

Pen, ink, and paper have of old been the sole traditional equipment of the Moslim student. A public library has been an advantage but not a necessity, the dictation of a professor either of his own compilation or of a recognized text book, to which he adds his own glosses, being in general sufficient, while a book could sometimes be bought or borrowed. A man following a life of study would be obliged to support himself at the same time by some common trade or pursuit. This was not too difficult, for the wants of such a man do not require too great expenses, and generally he was enabled to follow inclination by an inheritance or by gifts from relatives who followed a more profitable career, and from friends who thought it a duty to honour the sacred learning, and many of them showed a certain skill in combining their studies with the exercise of a trade or business. Islam always appreciates highly those who keep alive learning, especially the study of Law, because this is considered from the religious point of view the staff of life of the community. Whosoever devotes himself to this study is excused from taking part in a holy war, and when he dies in the performance of his work is likened to a martyr. Such a man of learning is supposed to be above thought of deriving gain from the noble pursuit. From all that has been said it is clear that the servant of learning in Islam is sure of a rich heavenly reward and of a highly considered position on earth.

Such disinterested singlehearted men of learning have never been wanting in any century. In the first four to five centuries moreover

the holy learning developed itself to the highest pitch in continual controversy. Not all the school controversies had any practical significance for real life, and it is an entire mistake to suppose that the so-called Moslim Law has ever really dominated culture or has remained in intimate connexion with the needs of society; since the separation of the School from the State a very considerable part of the Law developed in the School came to have only a canonical significance. But a great public everywhere took part in the theological controversy, and thus influenced and also strengthened the leading Doctors. Men of learning could aspire to obtain high posts in the administration of the Law, but the true representatives of the class kept aloof from State service, because they might have to regard the wishes of the Government more than the Laws of God. In fact since the fourth century such posts, though still sometimes accessible to the learned, have generally been given to the highest bidders, however ignorant. The positions that would satisfy the nobler ambition of workers in the domains of pure science lost their importance when living controversies ceased and the work of the learned came to be confined to the preservation and handing down of acquired knowledge.

The catholic spirit of Islam by which agreement over debated points was obtained has been invaluable. Still it is no chance coincidence that the union of the four rites on the basis of one and the same doctrine, which union has really stopped all enquiry, coincides in point of time with the political decay of Islam. The many badly governed small states and the few great despotic empires afforded no field for the intellectual contests that used previously to be waged between the schools. Every such movement might have a political significance, and had therefore to be crushed in its birth. Even in their own interests the Doctors were thus obliged to act mainly in a conservative manner, and the general disorder made this the more acceptable to them. Only from a purely religious point of view the activity of the practitioners of sacred learning found its full reward. Judges (*qâdîs*) and official expounders of the Law (*muftîs*) found it ever more impossible to give to Caesar what was Caesar's and to God what was God's. A learned man who did not choose to make a "transaction" with his conscience could seldom attain a high position, and must generally content himself with a modest and quiet sphere of activity. Few were of lofty enough spirit thus to renounce the pomps of the world, and

the spirit of research would have died out, had it not been artificially kept alive.

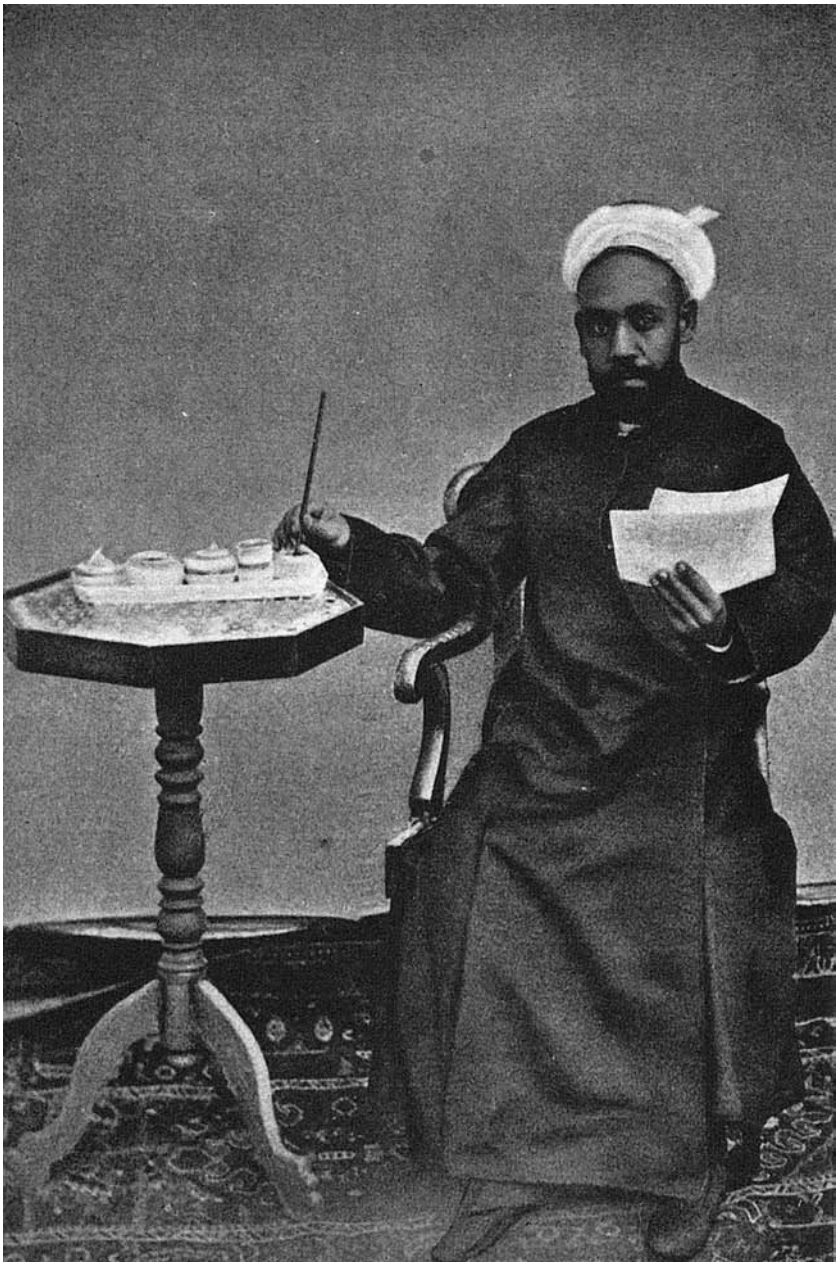
It is also by no mere chance that the above-mentioned causes of decay had their effect on knowledge first at the time when the first *madrasahs* (scholastic foundations) in Islam were founded. "It 'is related', we read in Qutb ad-dîn's History of Mekka "that the "first madrasah in the world, that of Nizâm al-Mulk, was founded "in Bagdad in the year 457 of the Hijrah (1065 A.D.) When the "learned of Transoxania heard of this, they instituted a day of "mourning for knowledge, and lamented over the decay of honour "and science. Asked for the reason, they said: 'Knowledge is a "noble and excellent queen who can only be wooed by noble "excellent sons for her native nobility, and by reason of the natural "affinity of these souls to her. Now however a reward has been set "up and vulgar souls will seek her and use her for gain. So "knowledge will be degraded by the vulgarity of these people without "their being raised by her nobility. Look at medicine, a noble "art, which since she has been practised by the vulgar Jews has "been infected by their vulgarity while they have by no means "acquired her nobility."

Qutb ad-dîn adds that the fears of these learned men were fully justified. In truth, though not causes of decay, those institutions are among its signs.

Though a tolerably good madrasah generally contained several lecture halls and a library, yet the chief object of such institutions was not the increase or concentration of the means of learning, but rather the encouragement of men to its pursuit by assuring them lodging and subsistence. The study of the Law being a collective duty, laid by God on the community, the rulers must further such study by extraordinary means when voluntary offers fail, and rich pious men must contribute from their wealth. Such a man then founds such a big house with many little rooms for students and teachers and some lecture halls, and settles with the help of some learned friends the questions how many teachers, how many students, what subjects are to be taught, at what hours, to what conditions the immates must submit, and who is to be charged with the administration of the *waqf*, the income of which when well administered sufficed for keeping the building in good repair and for the support of teachers and students.

In Mekka indeed, lecture halls would be less needed than elsewhere, their place being taken by the courtyard of the Mosque in the cool hours and its colonnades in the hot hours of the day, and lectures being very seldom liable to be stopped by rainy weather. The peculiar blessing (*barakah*) of the place is supposed to rest on knowledge acquired in the holiest mosque on earth. Still, even in Mekka, each madrasah has its lecture halls, either for custom's sake or to facilitate administration.

We read in Qutb ad-dîn of one madrasah with a great library built in 1233 A.D. near the Bab as-Salâm by a servant of the Khalif Mustansir, another madrasah built in 1477 at the expense of the Mameluke Sultan Kait Bey near the first named one and having a beautiful lecture hall, 72 *khalwah's* (small living rooms), and a library for the four orthodox rites, and a third, that of the Ottoman Sultan Suliman to the south of the Mosque, begun in 1565, in which Qutb ad-dîn, who gives a full account of the madrasah, was himself a professor. Besides these great institutions there were many other smaller ones of the same kind founded by Egyptian or Indian princes or rich pilgrims. The pious founders, besides the support of students and teachers, provided for Qur'an recitations to be performed at fixed times in their names for the increase of their heavenly reward. Bad management and various abuses have brought all these institutions to decay, only a few years having generally passed before the process of decay began, the mismanagement diminishing the income of the foundation to such a degree that the salaries could no more be paid and the privilege of free lodging not being sufficient to attract teachers and students, while want of money entailed also neglect of the building. Then the administrators or Governments officials began to treat the madrasahs as abandoned property. Sometimes they established themselves as lodgers in the building. Sometimes they let the beautiful lodgings, appreciated for the proximity of the Mosque, to rich pilgrims or inhabitants of Mekka, in a word, as Qutb ad-dîn reported, "the hands of the devourers took possession of the foundations". Only a few of the poorer rooms are still occupied by poor teachers and students, and here and there the rich occupier of the best rooms will arrange for a lecture out of respect for the founder to be given weekly in the hall (*dihlîz*) or a room of the building. In general the word *madrasah* in Mekka has come to mean a fine house near the mosque, and the population at large has lost all idea of its original meaning.



KÂTIB (SECRETARY) OF THE GRAND-SHERÎF

Now as in the earlier times the only university building in Mekka is the great Mosque. The professors are supported from various sources. The *muftîs*, except the Hanafite, who being the official expounder of Holy Law for the Turkish Government is too busy, all give lessons, are all teachers, and, though supposed to be unpaid as muftî's, really make more as muftîs than as teachers. Other teachers carry on various trades which make them independent. Others for their piety or learning get costly presents from rich students or admirers. Except, however, a few quite independent ones, like the highly revered assailant of Christianity Rahmat Ullah,[4] the exile from British India, who serve the cause of knowledge as the cause of God and receive their pupils in their own houses, all regular professors get something from the revenues of the pious foundations.

The neighbours of God consider themselves more or less entitled to live at the expense of the rest of the Moslim world, and this demand has been complied with, by Egypt especially. From that country the sherîfs and their subjects get yearly presents of money and wheat, and the Turkish Sultans have in this respect followed the example of the rulers of Egypt. The Turkish Sultanate would lose its prestige all over the Moslim world if the yearly gifts to Mekka and Medina were stopped, and, in spite of financial embarrassments, this charge is not too heavy, as money and corn are supplied from Egypt. Almost every family settled in Mekka, except the rich merchants and the poorest class of the populace, gets one or more *ardebs* (*ardeb* = 202 lbs.) of Egyptian wheat, not of course without deductions for the distributing officials.

Almost every Mekkan who has any sort of post, from muftî down to mosque sweeper gets a yearly order on the Government chest. In the recent bad years it has, it is true, often been difficult to cash these orders in full, and they are often sold to a go-between for less than half their face value, the chest having always happened to be empty when the original holders called. All professors have these allowances of corn and money, even though they are also drawing such allowances in other capacities, as in those of *muftîs* or *imams* or *khatîbs* (prayer leaders or preachers). Rich pilgrims,

[4] Author of the *Izhâr al-Haqq*, a polemical work against Christian theology as represented by English scholars. There exist several printed editions of this book and a French translation by Mansur Carletti.

especially Indians, also give large money presents to the learned professors or the *Haram* collectively. These sources of income would be a sufficient cause of institution of a corporation of professors presided over by an administrator and distributor of these sums of money. But also in other respects the Guild of Doctors without guild rules and a guild master would be unthinkable.

In theory every believer has a right to his share in the whole mosque space. After the public collective prayers individuals may remain in private prayer or simply resting themselves, or here and there boys may be reading out the Qur'an with rhythmical motion of their bodies, or a knot of brethren of a mystical order may be droning out their litanies, and several circles of students are listening to lectures of teachers. It might then be supposed that anyone who can get people to listen to him, can give lectures in the mosque courtyard or mosque halls, but it is not really so.

Of course such a lecturer cannot be quite incompetent or he would expose himself to ridicule. Again, considerations of space prevent all the recognised professors from using the mosque at once. Modesty also keeps many back from lecturing in the mosque. One thinks himself too young, another thinks himself too obscure, and often a Jâwah thinks his race too inferior to that of the noble Arabs. And so a distinction is made between mosque professors and their colleagues who teach elsewhere. The line is drawn sometimes merely by traditional usage, but sometimes by a precise order from the Sheikh of the Ulamâ. This official is appointed like other guildmasters by Government. He distributes the presents that have been given to the whole body of professors (see above), and appoints them according to his pleasure. He is generally a muftî, and preferably the Muftî of the Shafi'ites.

A professor is by favour of the Sheikh admitted to examination, and having passed it (and no one ever fails) is licensed to teach in the *Haram* (sacred enclosure) though without right at first to any emolument, and after more or less delay, according to the measure of dispensation of the same favour, gets later on either a mere share in gifts etc., or in addition a yearly stipend. Often Government influence prevails with the Sheikh in this matter. I have know a miserable black Takruri 'âlim, who thanks to the favour of Sèyyid Dahlân obtained an ordinary professorship, whereas other professors as hungry, and more meritorious, sought in vain such a post. The examination (*imtihân*) is for the university what

the *me'allimiyyah* is for the guild (see p. 29). The Sheikh determines the time at which the candidate has to be present. The examination takes place in public near a gate of the mosque (the Bāb az-Zijâdah), and generally in the forenoon or after the *'asr*. The examiner is the Sheikh himself or his deputy assisted by professors who sit round in a circle, and the friends or other curious people sit in the background. Four or five of the professors act as special witnesses of the examination, which is confined to the *basmalah* or invocation of the name of God, which serves as introduction to all texts.[5] And then, after all present have prayed together for his good luck, he offers them all coffee, or, if he is well-to-do, later in the day gives his colleagues a feast in his own house.

Besides the above mentioned duties of receiving new members and distributing common revenues, the Sheikh of the Ulamâ must regulate all the affairs of the corporation, and represent it in dealings with the outer world, and especially with the Government. In ordinary cases the Government before issuing orders introducing new rules has recourse to the Muftî of the Hanafites, so as to avoid conflict with Canon Law, but in cases in which the Government wishes to show that all religious authorities are in accord with its will, recourse will be had to the Sheikh of the Ulamâ, who will then draw up, first the question in due form, and then a fetwâ with a mass of supporting texts, and submit it for signature to his most eminent colleagues. The objects of such special fetwâs are the introduction of new and unpopular measures, the removal of traditional abuses, or the increase of the Government revenues. The aid of a fetwâ is also invoked when proceedings, often the outcome of personal intrigue, are taken against a person highly placed in the world of religious learning.

One most learned man, Hasab Allah, son of a converted Copt, once circulated among his disciples a manuscript treatise against

[5] On this basmalah Moslim scholars have written endless commentaries, which cannot be mastered without solid knowledge of grammar, logic, theology and law, and with some good will half the sacred sciences can be brought into connexion with it. The programme of the examination may seem light at first sight, but there might be a very difficult testing derived from it. But as we have said, the examination has mainly formal significance, and it is actually limited to the observations contained in the most renowned Qur'an commentaries on the basmalah text. The candidate answers the few questions without hesitation, und the real result consists in the inauguration of his new activity by the solemn invocation of the name of Allah recommended by Allah himself.

tobacco-smoking as an unholy practise. The Sheikh of the Ulamâ, who was jealous of Hasab Allah, seized the opportunity to bring out a counter statement to the effect that if tobacco smoking were unholy, the smokers, that is to say nearly all Mekkans, were, from their unholiness, unfit to be witnesses at marriages, and therefore most of the Mekkan marriages were invalid, which conclusion being absurd and impious, the doctrine from which it was deduced was also absurd and impious.

To apportion punishment is no part of the duty of these dignitaries of the Law: that belongs to the State authorities. In this particular case the Sheikh missed his aim of inducing those authorities to inflict punishment on Hasab Allah, for the senior Sheikh of the Sheybah family (doorkeepers of the Kaabah) took his side. He however soon went too far. It was proposed to put a new dome over the tomb of the Prophet's uncle Abû Tâlib, who died in unbelief. Hasab Allah in a pamphlet protested against this, and accused the Sheikh of Ulamâ of negligence in allowing it. The Sheikh in reply championed the later legendary, but still respectably accredited, view that the Prophet's ancestors, including his virtuous uncle, were believers, and so Hasab Allah got into trouble, and in consequence of a fetwâ, obtained against him, was banished from Arabia for six months. He however came back, and, when I was there, was teaching as before and enjoyed no less respect, though he had to keep quieter.

On another occasion a mystical leader of great authority, Suleiman Efendi, Sheikh of the Naqshibandi order, carried on a controversy with a competitor who assumed the same title, Khalîl Pasha. The latter enjoyed some influence in high official circles on account of his having occupied a Government office.

Both of them sought to increase the number of their adherents, especially amongst Turks and Malays, but the high connexions of the Pasha did not prevent Suleiman from being by far the more popular. Now it is against the principle of such fraternities to have two Sheikhs of the same degree in the same order in one town. The appearance of the second one involves doubt of the justification of the claims of the first one. The competition usually excites each rival to unambiguous announcements of disdain and enmity. So it came about that Khalîl and Suleiman both pretended that the mystic method of the other was not rightly derived from the holy Naqshiband, that his manner of performance of *dhikrs* was bad that

his claims to the representation of the order were false. In older times, before the union inaugurated by Ghazâlî, the sacred learning would in such cases probably have condemned both parties, because that learning was averse to all mystic eccentricities, and the rivals would hardly have been persuaded to accept the judgment of the official organs of learning. In our time also there are in large towns Sheikhs (*Sheikh at-turûq* or *al-adhkâr*) appointed by Government who are more or less responsible for all the manifestations of mystical life, but their supervision is limited to the public ceremonies of certain orders that draw their many adherents from the lower classes. When two important sheikhs of one tarîqah or more rarely when two tarîqahs, get into conflict with each other, the authority of such a Sheikh at-Turûq is of no value. The official advisers of Government in religious affairs, the Muftîs and ʿUlamâ, however, have no criterion to apply to such extraordinary religious practices as are characteristic of the tarîqahs. They can only apply the criterion recommended by Ghazâlî to the believers who search for a guide on the path of mysticism. They can only judge a fraternity by its doctrines and practices. If these are orthodox they leave the order alone or give it a word of praise. Are the doctrine and practices heretical? Then the Ulamâ strive to bring about the dissolution of the order, or they attack the false sheikh who covers his error with the name of the noble tarîqah. So, whenever the sheikh of an order wishes to get rid of a rival, he must before all try to bring him into conflict with orthodoxy.

Between Khalîl and Suleiman there existed no question that could be brought before the forum of orthodox dogma or law. As however Khalîl was a friend of the Governor Osman Pasha and of Sèyyid Dahlân, it was not difficult to find in the numerous pamphlets written by Suleiman for his adherents the required objectionable passages. Whosoever represents as false a dogma or practice recognized by the Moslim community becomes himself a heretic. Whoever casts reflexions on pious doctors and teachers of dogmatic or mystic is a calumniator. Now Suleiman in one of his pamphlets had described Khalîl Pasha and his father Yahyâ Bey, who both were representatives of the same Sheikh, a pupil of whom was the teacher of Suleiman, as conceited men whose mystical attainments were so defective that Suleiman felt bound to warn his adherents, especially in the East Indies, against them. The baselessness of their claims was, according to Suleiman, proved by their recognition of dancing, violent move-

ments of the body, and similar eccentricities as means for the cultivation of higher mysticism. So the opponents of Suleiman had at their disposal documents calumniating pious mystics and condemning practices favoured by great authorities. At least Khalîl was able to persuade the Wali to adopt his point of view and to ask the Sheikh al-ʿUlamâ for a fetwâ concerning the heretical statements of Suleiman. Ahmed Dahlân drew up the form of question in the name of the Wali, and also an explicit fetwâ in which with many learned quotations he concluded that the incriminating statements of Suleiman were false and dangerous, and that the Divine Law required the destruction of the pamphlet and the punishment of its author. Eighteen professors of the *Haram*, amongst whom were the muftîs of the Hanbalites and Malikites, confirmed this fetwâ by their hands and seals. Thus Osman Pasha could give the desired satisfaction to his friend Khalîl without scruple. Suleiman was imprisoned, and to get out had to humble himself before his rival and to write to all his adepts in the East Indies a letter in which he recalled the condemned pamphlet, and declared that henceforth his relationship to Khalîl Pasha was to be that of a brother. Four representatives (khalîfahs) of Khalîl Pasha addressed similar letters to the rulers of Deli and Langkat in East Sumatra asking them to make the contents known to their subjects. This was to prepare the way for the competition of Khalîl in East Sumatra, which had hitherto lacked success. The best proof of the mainly personal character of Khalîl's attacks on Suleiman was his desire to be considered by the brethren in Sumatra as the genuine brother of his defeated enemy. To make the triumph of Khalîl known to all the world, the documents collected in one brochure were printed in the newly (1883) opened Government printing office in Mekka, under the title: "Treatise to confute the Treatise of Suleiman Effendi, by the Chief of the ʿUlamâ, the Muftî of the Shâfiʿites, Sèyyid Ahmed Dahlân, with the approval of the muftîs and doctors of the revered Mekka".

To the fetwâ, which fills six pages, are attached the letters quoted above. The whole is preceded by the following declaration of Osman Pasha: — "It has been reported to us from certain "quarters that the Sheikh Suleiman Efendi has published a pamphlet "defaming the noble *tarîqahs* and their sheikhs, in which pamphlet "absurdities and nonsense are to be found, and that this pamphlet "has been widely spread. Therefore we have put this pamphlet "into the hands of the Chief of the doctors of the revered city,

"the excellent Sèyyid Ahmed Zênî Dahlân, and we have ordered "him to examine it with all necessary acumen. He has read and "examined it, and his conclusion is that the contents are nonsense, "and in conflict with the established Sacred Law, so that the "pamphlet must be destroyed and every trace of it wiped out. "Then the above named Sèyyid has drawn up a detailed fetwâ on "the matter, and all the doctors of the revered Mekka have declared "themselves in agreement therewith. The copies of the said pamphlet, "which are in store, have been confiscated, and those that had "already been sold taken from the holders, and all burnt and every "trace of them destroyed. As the fetwâ required also a punishment "for the author Sheikh Suleiman Efendi, we have imprisoned him. "In order that these facts may be known to all, this communication "has been made."

The chief representative of learning will rarely venture to publish a statement against rules laid down by Government. Such a case would hardly ever occur if the power were not divided between two hands in Mekka.

In 1881 the Qâḍî, the nominee of the Turkish Government, was induced by over-zealous adherents of the Hanafite rite to give an order for the performance of afternoon prayer at a later hour than was customary. Most of the ʿUlamâ and many laymen took umbrage at the Qâḍî's order. Not only the three other rites have it that the service is to be performed at the earlier hour; there are even a great number of Hanafite authorities of a unionistic spirit who are of the same opinion. In other places, even in Constantinople, the centre of the Hanafite Government, this service of *ʿasr* begins at the earlier hour. Against such arguments the ultra-Hanafites seem only to have advanced the principle that differences of opinion in such a case cease as soon as the Qâḍî has pronounced his verdict. In these circumstances Ahmed Dahlân cut his reed pen sharp and opposed the Qâḍî by saying that a judge whose sentence would put an end to any dissension must fulfil certain conditions, which were not fulfilled in this case, but that at all events the Qâḍî's sentence could only conclude a process, not give a decisive answer to a question that had not been submitted to him in legal form. Further, he overwhelmed the Qâḍî with special arguments against his opinion, and the end was that the innovation was withdrawn

in a few weeks. In 1883 he published this fetwâ in Cairo at the same time as his treatise against the Wahhabite heresy.

To the above examples of the activity of the Sheikh al-ʿUlamâ as champion of the Sacred Knowledge against the assaults of the outer world many others might be added. His ordinary work of Shafiʿite Muftî, which position he generally holds, is easy to perform, as his assistants (*amîn al-fetwâ*) settle for him the ordinary daily questions and consult him in important cases only. As a considerable number of the Mekkans belong to the Shafiʿi rite, there passes no day without him being consulted on family questions, on the legal character of certain contracts, and so forth. A still greater number of questions put to him come from the Shafiʿi parts of India, the East Indian Archipelago, or from Daghestan. Vaccination, the use of petroleum lamps in mosques, the purity or impurity of certain kinds of Chinese lacquer work, a new mode of evading the usury law, a new style of dress, are subjects that the Muftî has to pronounce upon at any time in the course of a few days.

Besides deciding on the admission of new candidates, on the administration of revenues, and on the representation of the learned body abroad, another duty of the Sheikh al-ʿUlamâ is to direct the order of teaching in the Mosque as a sort of "rector" of the university. That is to say so far as there can be "order" in things Mekkan, for his authority like that of all the other authorities is limited by custom, or alleged custom. The 'custom' is the more readily accepted by all because every one can interpret it at will. Even amongst sherîfs it is difficult for the 'primus inter pares' to make his authority recognised. The chiefs of guilds and of town quarters exercise their authority principally by the support of the Government. How then should a class so recalcitrant as that of the doctors submit to their chief?

After each of the five prayer times in the day circles of disciples form round the recognised teachers. Any interloper would be put out at the request of the Sheikh al-ʿUlamâ, by the eunuch guardians of the *Haram*, or by the Government police; only after the last evening prayer is there less strictness in this matter because at that hour few professors lecture.

Whoever wishes to have a general view of the course of instruction should walk through the *Haram* five times a day during

the first seven months of the Moslim year, for already in the eighth month (Shaaban) many changes take place. Also the walk must not take place on Tuesdays or Fridays, on which days the regular lectures are interrupted. For the Friday this custom of interrupting is justified by the requirements of the divine service. As to the Tuesday, it is said to be justified by the fact that Abu Hanîfah died on a Tuesday. However, there are some professors lecturing on these days also, but only on subjects for which little or no room is found in the regular lectures.

Professors lecturing immediately after the morning prayer can sit in the courtyard of the mosque. But one or two hours later the sun begins to throw its rays over the cupolas of the east roof. Then lectures are given in one of the colonnades. So in the first walk we see in both places gatherings of students. A few minutes before the commencement of a lecture (*dars*) a servant or pupil of the teacher (*medarris*) puts a cushion on his accustomed place to cover the hard pebbles of the courtyard or marble floor of the colonnades. The cushion is placed so that he may sit facing the Kaabah, as he would face the Kaabah at prayer. Generally the throng of students is not so great as to give rise to unpleasantnesses and disagreements in choosing places for the professors. Each finds a place according to his reasonable wishes, and that place he keeps for the whole year and even often for life. Should there arise disagreement as to the distribution of places, the decision rests with the Sheikh al-ʿUlamâ. The students form a circle round the professor; when they are always the same, each has his fixed place, but this is not too strictly observed and the cosmopolitan character of Mekka causes much variation. Each disciple comes with his prayer carpet, and, before sitting down directs it from the circumference of the circle towards its centre. The students behind the professor are much nearer to him than those in front, so that they may hear him better and that he may turn his back to as few as possible. Two places behind the teacher's cushion are left open to give him passage. The students sit down on the end of their prayer carpets, and put before them their copper inkstands (*dewâyah*), of which the prolongation on one side is a long copper case holding reed pens and penknives, and their portfolio holding several sheets of the text treated in the lecture and some writing paper. Sometimes the teacher, according to an old custom, gets one of the older disciples, who may be called the repeater (*muqrî*), to sit directly opposite him and, as an introduction

to the new lecture, chant the conclusion of the last lecture. Sometimes, though not often, the teacher begins his lecture by some rhymed prose sentences in praise of the theme, in which case the repeater also begins by a rehearsal of those sentences, which are therefore always heard twice by the students.

The few dozen circles of from 10 to 60 students, which form after the morning prayer, are almost exclusively occupied in the study of the Sacred Law, and must therefore be classified according to the schools or rites to which they belong. In the study of sources of the Law any professor, no matter of which school, may be heard, but in the study of the Law itself a professor belonging to the same school as the student should be chosen.

The Hanbalites, one may say, must be searched for with a lantern. One or two professors are explaining to their few students the text of Marʿî. They are all from Central Arabia (*Sharqî* plur. *Shurûq*).[6] In their way of thinking they closely resemble the Wahhabis, and indeed many puritans who are called Wahhabis by their opponents call themselves Hanbalis. A little more numerous are the *ḥalqah*s (circles of students) of Mâlikîs, whose true home, however, is in N.W. Africa and indeed all Moslim Africa except Lower Egypt; the Sudanese, the Takruri negroes, the Moslim Abyssinians, all negro converts, and the converts of the Senûsî-missionaries are of this rite. In Arabia and Syria there are only dispersed colonies of Mâlikîs, all of them of Far West origin. The Hanafite, being the official Turkish school, is always numerously represented. The concession made by the Turkish Government in the period of their victories to the rites recognized in the conquered provinces that, along with the Hanafite, a judge belonging to the native rite should be appointed, has nowadays come to be considered unnecessary. In Mekka, where the Shafiʿi rite had the highest importance, but on account of the international character of the town was not allowed to dominate, there were formerly four qâḍîs appointed by the Turkish Government, one for each rite, but later, perceiving that the administration of the Law was their affair, not that of their subjects, the Government suppressed them all except the Hanafite one who became the sole Judge in the Law of Religion

[6] In the interior parts of Oman also the Hanbalite rite prevails. On the coast of Oman and in Zanzibar, the Moslims belong to the Ibâḍî or Abâḍî sect. They are considered in Mekka quite harmless heretics who hurt no one, and bring into the town a good deal of money. Also the Wahhabis are to be regarded as extreme Hanbalis.

ZANZIBAR PILGRIMS

and of family life, while all other matters were decided according to new secular Law (called al-Qânûn al-Munîf), which replaced the Sharʿ al-Sherîf (Sacred Law). The Qâḍî could not administer this new Law, which was often interpreted according to the arbitrary will of the administrator. It is true that the other rites are not suppressed, but have each its own muftî by whose fetwâ the Hanafite Qâḍî may be controlled in for instance marriage questions, but it will be understood that the power of the Ottoman Government tends to displace the non-Hanafite rites, or at least to make their importance purely ritual.

It is only natural that the Hanafite professors have the larger share of salaries in Mekka. In the Hejaz calendar of 1303 (1885–1886) there is a list of all the professors with their emoluments. These official data are not quite reliable, for many of those men are named professors because the Governor wished to favour them with a salary from a fund destined for the advancement of science. Leaving apart such purely sinecure professors, the total number is between 50 and 60. About one third of these are Hanafites, amongst whom Indians and scholars from Russian Asia are to be found as well as Mekkans and other Turkish subjects. Emigrants from such foreign countries who consider the Grand Lord of Stamboul as their refuge always find a friendly welcome. If possible, posts are given to them, and they are called Muhâjirs (men who have left their fatherland for the sake of religion). Like the Mâlikîs the Hanafite scholars are explaining here the authoritative texts of the rite, or modern compilations which are for the most part verbally derived from those texts.

The Shafiʿite Law, though confined by Turkish influence to the sphere of family life in most of the lands in which it used to rule, has still held its own in the lecture halls, and has remained a spiritual power. Its wide diffusion in the earlier centuries was due to the protection of the Abbaside Khalîfs. At that time its only local competitor in Mekka was Shiʿism, which counts many adherents in West and South Arabia.

The Sherîfs of Mekka were opportunists in questions of rite, and exchanged their Zeidite (Shiʿite) confession for the Shafiʿite, which was the rite of the great majority of their subjects. Since that time the mass of the population of Western Arabia have remained Shafiʿi. They have not followed their rulers in adopting the Hanafi rite. In the environs of Mekka there are still strong remains of that

Shiʿitism which once contributed to the conquest of Western Arabia by the Sherîfs, and is now for its reward despised by them.[7] There are also in the environs of Mekka some Harb tribes adhering to Wahhabism. Both Shiʿites and Wahhabis are now simply remains of no importance as compared with the dominating Shafiʿism. The parts of Arabia from which Mekka derives most of its increase of population are also chiefly Shafiʿite. In Yemen since the annihilation of the political centre of the Zeidi (Shiʿite) Imams, the Zeidites have ever been giving way to the Shafiʿites; even within the Turkish sphere of influence the Hanafite courts exercise no power in the domain of learning or of the family life. Hadramaut is entirely, and Bahrein partly, Shafiʿite. In Lower Egypt Shafiʿism has weathered all storms. From the Shafiʿite coastlands of India (Malabar and Coromandel), from the East Indian Archipelago, and from Daghestan, more pilgrims (all Shafiʿites) repair to Mekka with the intention of studying there for some years, than pilgrims from other countries, where other rites preponderate.

It is thus not by chance that the Muftî of the Shafiʿites or else some eminent doctor of that rite generally holds the position of Sheikh of the ʿUlamâ, and that the number of the regular Shafiʿite professors reaches 20 or 30 out of a total of 50 or 60. Their circles are the most interesting examples of the academic life of Mekka. Their professors are many of them born Mekkans. The old Sheikh al-ʿUlamâ, Ahmed Dahlân (ob. 1886) was born and brought up here. And so also the ascetic, finely Semiticlooking Sèyyid Abdallah Zawâwî, whose father, Muhammed Sâlih, is renowned and respected as a professor, a mystic, and an honourable man. This father having trained the son at home, to keep him as far as possible from the seductions of the world, at the age of twenty he had made such progress in the sacred studies that his father induced the rector to enroll him as a professor, which aroused ardent jealousy and resentment, the professors crying out against the admission, contrary to traditional usage, of one who had only a private education. Stones were even thrown at the young professor from the mosque roofs, but he overcame all opposition by his worth, good nature and tact. Father and son together have been able to combine learning

[7] The most despised of these Shiʿites are the adherents of the sect found in and around Medina, the Nakhâwilah, who have almost degenerated into a caste of pariahs, and who have to follow the lowest trades, like that of butcher. In Jeddah also there are some Nakhâwilah butchers.

and sincere piety with profitable trade. As is not unnatural, they have developed no literary activity. A man of middle age is Sèyyid Bèkrî, as he is called in Mekka, properly Sèyyid Abû Bekr Shattâ, whose father emigrated from Damietta to Mekka. Bekrî has a large circle of students, and seems likely to succeed the old Sheikh as a prolific author.

Pre-eminent fame is enjoyed by some who have completed their studies in the Athens of Shafiʿite learning, the Azhar Mosque in Cairo, like Muhammed Basyûnî, Omar Shâmî, Mustafa ʿAfîfi, Muhammed Mènshâwî; the last named instructed privately many Javanese in the art of Qur'an reciting. Formerly the Egyptians offended by their airs of superiority in Mekka, but now since Ismail Pasha has europeanised Lower Egypt, and still more since the English occupation, they have come to look upon Mekka as the true refuge of Islam. In Egypt unbelievers have to do with the appointment of muftîs and professors, and fetwâs contrary to the muftî's conscience have sometimes to be issued. It is true that also in Mekka now and then transactions with the secular authorities are inevitable, but nevertheless here a certain amount of independence is conceded to the representative of the Sacred Law, and "being ruled by ourselves (i.e. by coreligionists) is a blessing of God". The commonest Turk understands better than the best Englishman what is due to a Moslim. Once, to a cultivated Egyptian who was pouring out complaints of the rudeness and licentiousness of English soldiers and the stupid conceit of many English, I cited in reply the good service rendered by English Government to Egypt and the eminent qualities of some famous Englishmen, but he rejoined with the proverb, "here a white dog, there a black dog, but they are all dogs, and sons of dogs". No unbeliever comes to Mekka, while the Azhar Mosque has been defiled by the feet of English men and women. In Mekka there is a slave market. In Egypt slaves can only be bought in secret, as if it were a sin. In Mekka remains a Moslim society uncontaminated by infidels, such as is impossible in Egypt. Cairenes in Mekka will nowadays admit the inferiority of their own city.

Hadramaut supplies many professors, eminent among whom is the almost dwarfish Muhammed Saʿîd Bâ Besêl, who acts as Amîn al-Fetwâ (Commissioner for the publication of Fetwas) to the Sheikh al-ʿUlamâ in his capacity of Muftî of the Shafiʿites. In one of the courses of lectures of the Sheikh al-ʿUlamâ he acts also as his Muqrî.[8]

[8] See p. 181.

The Hadramîs, like the people of Central Arabia, being brought up in a poor cultureless land, regard the great town of Mekka as a modern Babylon. The learned life, however, in Mekka is full of attraction for those of them who have a taste for learning. In studying here, besides enjoying richer material assistance and freer exchange of ideas, they derive from the holiness of the valley of Mekka blessings not to be found in Hadramaut. The laymen emigrating from there to Mekka to make a living soon adapt themselves to Mekkan customs, and then they consider the change as a progress. When the Hadramîs in the East Indies speak with disdain of the Mekkans, this is to be taken only as an expression of trade jealousy, because both of them in their own way try to exploit the Jâwah, and their ways often cross. The Mekkans repay them with the same coin. Such judgments full of prejudice should not mislead Europeans.

Of Daghestan origin are some of the more highly esteemed depositaries of learning in Mekka. One of them was Abd al-Hamîd al-Daghestânî whom many of his colleagues took for more learned than Sèyyid Dahlân; he died shortly before my arrival in Mekka. His son Muhammed did honour to his father, and was considered one of the six best Qur'an-reciters in the town.

Professors from Malabar, called here Menêbâr, are now fewer than formerly, and one from the Jâwah is now very seldom found in the *Haram*.

When in our morning walk through the court of the Mosque we ask a Mekkan about the fewness of the professors from among the Jâwah, he at once shows us with his finger Professor Zein ad-dîn from Sumbawa, and adds that no other professor of that race is to be found here. The reason is partly the modest, retiring nature of these people. Partly it is a natural consequence of the special needs of Jâwah students, of which we shall speak below.

As we look at the Shafi'ite students (and they are the most interesting of the students as their professors are the most interesting professors), we are first of all struck by the great difference of ages; in the same circles sit greybeards and beardless boys, striplings and grown men. The oldest students are divided into two classes, who have this in common that they attend the lectures chiefly for the *barakah* or blessing. Of the first class are those who know

already all that they hear from the professor. But they nevertheless sit at the feet of the professor because he was formerly their teacher or because they respect him as an older colleague; others have had no time for learning in their youth, and are now trying to get what is lacking. The efforts of these latter generally produce little fruit, but they are content with the "blessing" of "attending", even when understanding fails them.

But of real students often sixteen years old ones and forty year old ones are found together at the same lecture. The taste for the learned life is rare, as we have seen, among native Mekkans, and in the sons of learned men shows itself generally in earliest youth, while, in other cases, it often does not find vent or overcome family obstacles until later in life. The great majority of the students come from abroad, and if their mother tongue is not Arabic, must go through long preliminary study in that language before they are ripe for instruction in the *Haram*. Few have attained in their Javanese, Malay, Malabar, or other home such a knowledge of Arabic as to enable them to follow the lectures; most come very young or very imperfectly prepared in that respect. In such cases, after having made some progress in reciting the Qur'an, they go for some years to school to a learned fellow-countryman living in Mekka, who explains to them the easier texts in their mother tongue. After having overcome in this manner the first difficulties, they might as well for years to come continue to be taught by such teachers, the more so because there are among the foreigners scholars not inferior to their Arab colleagues. But the fervent wish of the students is to study in the *Haram*, and their learned countrymen do not dislike that, because they themselves have more than enough to do.

The lectures are entirely open and free. Any one may attend for mere curiosity, in which case he will take a place at the back of the circle and will be able to slip away unobserved. One who wishes to become a regular student takes his place in the circle between two students whose acquaintance he has made or now on purpose makes. The professor after some time notices him and addresses a few words to him at the close, or he may pay the professor a visit, though this is not obligatory and there is no registering.

The Law lectures have become to a great extent stereotyped. In the period of the fifth to the seventh century after the Hijrah, that

is, just when stiff uniformity succeeded lively conflict in the world of Moslim learning, some Shafiʿite pundits of the highest rank (especially Abû Shujâʿ, Râfiʿî and Nawawî) expounded the whole Law in their great works, and posterity has regarded these textbooks with almost as much reverence as they themselves regarded the works of Shâfiʿî and his first disciples. These textbooks however consist entirely of excerpts on which the authors based their oral instruction. The scholars learnt them by heart so as to get secure landmarks in following the courses of lectures.

In later times learned men like Ibn Hajar, Sharbînî and Ramlî have fixed in literary shape the commentaries on these texts and their commentaries are still to-day essentially the foundation of all Shafiʿite lectures on the Holy Law. The later professors, whose field is ever narrowing, have only to explain the language and substance of the utterances of their predecessors, or, at most, to choose which of two views should now prevail. A professor may still however propound a new statement. A professor of to-day has thus to choose one of the following methods: 1) to recite to his scholars one of the above mentioned commentaries with the glosses of a famous bygone professor, so that the sole advantage of oral instruction consists in precise vocalisation and occasional clearing up of small difficulties, 2) to make the reading of the commentary fruitful by oral exposition which he derives from several of the best glosses, or 3) to make and publish out of those glosses a new compilation.

The first method being the easiest is much followed, and it seems to suggest great modesty on the professor's part. Abdallah Zawâwî preferred the second method; he delivered a lecture on the *Iqnâʿ* of Sharbînî with free oral explanations, for which he prepared himself by studying a number of glosses. To follow such a method, full mastery of Arabic speech is required, especially if the students are allowed, as they were by this Sèyyid, to interrupt him with questions. Many of his colleagues allowed such questions only after the close of the lecture, for improvising in grammatically correct speech would be difficult for them. In rare cases it occurred that the young professor left a little earlier than usual with the excuse uttered with a smile, 'we will stop now, for I have not the ritual purity required for praying' (meaning, 'I am not prepared for continuing the lecture'). Sèyyid Bèkrî was one of the few who used to give out their own compositions as lectures afterwards published in book form. His four volumes, printed in Cairo in 1883, *Iʿânat*

aṭ-ṭâlibîn ("Assistance to Students") are a great compilation of glosses on Zein ad-dîn al-Malabârî's commentary on his own, Zein ad-dîn's work *Qurrat al-ʿAin* ("Comfort to the Eye"). In this work hardly one proposition in a thousand is Sèyyid Bèkrî's own, but this is all the better for his reputation for orthodoxy, because making what is new is the work of a heretic. He justly boasts in his preface that he has only aimed at a faithful reproduction of the words of the majority (of Shafiʿite doctors). If one should ask, what in the world can induce a learned man in such circumstances to add a new collection of glosses to the many existing ones? the answer will be that it is their desire to bring the understanding of the traditional materials nearer to their contemporaries by considering their pedagogic needs, but in fact they also wish to perpetuate their names as authors. Such books differ from one another only in amount of detail and in small externals, and call for no further notice from us.

What has all this Law to do with real life? The practice of religion in the narrower sense and the family relations are really controlled by it. All the rest has only the significance of a Canon Law, which is limited to the school. All the departments of life which should be controlled by it were from the beginning actually controlled by custom or by the caprice of the rulers. The whole political part of the Canon Law is a disapproving criticism of the actual situation in all Moslim states. The Law of war is a much idealised description of the wars of conquest waged by Islam after the death of Muhammed. The Laws concerning the conditions under which Christians and Jews are to enjoy the protection of Islam idealise the contract of Omar with the Syrians. If the commercial Law of Islam were to be applied all serious business would become impossible. The criminal Law by its impossible Law of evidence and by its marvellously mild application of the punishments belonging to the rights of Allah secures a way out to all offenders. Thus in every chapter of the books on Law the doctors cry out, 'so it ought to be, God help us!' There are indeed pious people who in certain important circumstances ask for a fetwâ and act up to it as far as possible. There are also pious rulers who have made themselves agreeable to the learned by a temporary application of the Sacred Law to certain relations. Nevertheless it remains true

that the main body of this Canonical Law has never been put in practice. The doctors will be the last to contradict this. They rather emphasize the fact that the laws expounded by them are only fitted for a better society than that of their contemporaries. Once, according to them, it has been realized, that is in the thirty years of the four legitimate Khalîfs. Another time it will be so when the end of the World is near and the Mahdî chosen by Allah enters upon his Kingdom. It would be impossible to recognize more openly the ideal character of the Sacred Law than the Turkish Government has done.

The Turkish Government has recognised its ideal character by instituting human laws (*Qawânîn*) for all relations of life outside intercourse with God, and outside the family life, and disposing of the Sacred Law (*Shar*ʿ) by the somewhat empty precept: "The Moslims are always free to appeal to it".

Nevertheless this ideal law is of high importance in Moslim life. These hopes and aspirations of the learned influence, much more than is supposed, the worldliest circles, and have deeply penetrated the common people. The latter, when the times seem out of joint, appeal, in concert with the ʿUlamâ, to the Sacred Law, and, in every political revolution, are thrilled by the expectation that at last the Mahdî is coming who will give back to that Law its own.

We must not forget that we are still in the Mosque, where the ʿUlamâ were explaining the Canonical Law in a loud voice. They begin the lecture, as every serious business is begun, with the invocation of "God the Merciful the Compassionate". Many preface this with the *taʿawwudh*-text: "I flee to God from the cursed Devil": then follows a string of praises of God and his last Apostle, and then most professors without further preliminaries say: "The composer of the book by us expounded says", slowly read out the words that follow those dealt with in the last lecture, and illustrate them after one of the above described methods. As we have already said, some recite before each lecture the prescribed form of praise of the study which is in hand. The strongest and most industrious professor will hardly go on for more than two hours. In the end the professor closes the book, and whispers a prayer in the proper attitude, that is with upturned eyes and hands held before the eyes as though he were reading something on the palms. Then as a sign

of conclusion he gently rubs his hands over his face. The students rise, go up to him as he sits, and kneeling down on his right give a parting kiss to his right hand. He however gets up for the older students as it would be arrogant to receive their kiss sitting; he will even withdraw his hand from some specially favoured ones and kiss their foreheads. To a new student he gives his blessing "Be blessed if God wills", to which the student replies with reverential formulae.

From the close of the morning lectures until after the mid-day prayer the university ordinance is to some extent suspended, that is to say in that interval a common schoolmaster may, without making himself ridiculous, give lessons to his boys in the great Mosque and young men may without presumption impart some of their superior knowledge to their less instructed companions. Of the professors some lecture in this interval on subjects which are little studied and to which no regular hours of study have been assigned, as for instance the explanation of tradition (*hadîth*) and the methodology of the development of Law (*usûl al-fiqh*). For the last mentioned study the students again range themselves according to their rites or sects, though this arrangement is here not so strictly observed as in the study of the Law itself (*fiqh*), for this reason especially that the later works on the method of the science contain but little variety of opinion. Both the subjects mentioned have for the rest merely a theoretical or historical importance as no one may any longer apply the method on his own account and draw new deductions from the traditions. Only from afar may it be seen how the forefathers deduced that Law which is now fixed for the community in their own unalterable consensus. Such lectures are always arranged beforehand. The professor has invited the students, or they have invited him for a certain hour, and the appointment must be kept. For the methodology lectures some of the modern printed works that are in the market are used. Industrious cultivators of the tradition read the gigantic commentary of Qastalânî on Bukhârî's collection of traditions, or the commentary of Nawawî on Muslim's collection. Many however have no time for these great studies and confine themselves to the smaller collections which contain the more useful or more edifying traditions. During my stay in Mekka a Hanafite professor, Sheikh ʿAbbâs, who was also assistant of the Muftî of the Hanafîs, was ending a course of reading of Qastalânî which he had begun

three years before. His son knew the whole collection of Bukhârî by heart.

All students now bring to lecture printed copies of the text which is being treated, which circumstance has entirely changed the mode of instruction. Formerly the teacher had first to dictate the text, in the margin of which the students then noted down his glosses. Now, on the contrary, the student notes down only a few oral remarks (*taqârîr*) of the professor, and often has nothing to write at all.

After the mid-day prayer no one could sit in the Mosque courtyard without being roasted. As soon however as prayers have been ended, circles, or half circles (where the professor sits against the wall), form in the colonnades for the study of the so-called instrumental sciences or of dogmatic theology. Before attending lectures in the Law the student must be somewhat versed in accidence (*sarf*) and in the higher grammar (*nahw*). The lectures on these instrumental subjects of study are then the only ones attended by the beginners.

Here young men from Mekka, Hadramaut, Yemen, and so forth are to be found along with foreign students who have some familiarity with the Arabic language. The professors are right in their observation that the Arab students after finishing the Ajrûmiyyah are better grammarians than the best Malay or Daghestanî after the study of many grammatical textbooks. For the study of *sarf* tables are used in which the forms of inflexion are recorded and explained. The Ajrûmiyyah and the Alfiyyah of Ibn Mâlik are the authorized handbooks of *nahw*. All good students know the Alfiyyah by heart.

The knowledge of the other instruments, e.g. style and poetic, can be acquired along with that of the Law, though they are also reckoned as part of the propaedeutic. Another instrument, logic, was in my time read in the afternoon by the Sheikh al-ʿUlamâ to some advanced students, of whom many seemed to understand little of what they heard. Perhaps the terrible heat may have contributed to the drowsiness of their appearance.

In dogmatic exercises according to the above mentioned encyclopaedia of Ghazâlî only those may take part who have already digested a sufficient portion of the "Law" which is the bread of life. The first principles of the orthodox dogmatic (called *kalâm, usûl ad-dîn*: principles of faith, or *tawhîd*: confession of the unity

of God) are however generally impressed on youths before they have completed their studies of the Law. There is nothing inconsistent in this, as the comprehension of dogmatic by no means presupposes an acquaintance with the Law. As in the case of the instrumental subjects, so students of different rites also learn dogmatic together from one and the same teacher.

In dogmatic doctrine practically all are Ashʿarites. It was Ashʿari (ob. 945 A.D.) who gave the orthodox dogmatic its final form. Many doctors are in the habit of denoting their profession of faith as Ashʿarite; so one will call himself Shafiʿi by madhab (rite), Ashʿarite by belief, Qâdirî by mystical method. Advanced students use the best known dogmatic works of the last centuries that they can get hold of, but instruction is generally confined to one of the many introductory manuals that are published down to the present day, as may be seen in any Cairine bookseller's catalogue. In such catalogues the titles of many cathechisms (*ʿaqîdahs*) of contemporary authors are to be found. In such books there is no systematic distribution or treatment of the materials, and even the chief text books of dogmatics lack unity, the reason being that orthodoxy was only induced to treat a new subject by pressure from without.

In the striking phrase of Ghazâlî the orthodox dogmatic is the medicine of the soul. Now as souls do not sicken by system, so heretical doctrines are not devised for the regular development of the truth, and thus the orthodox dogmatic can do little more than repel one attack of the enemy after another. While then each chapter of a book of sacred Law (*fiqh*) forms a living member of a whole body of rules for the guidance of man's every step, the dogmatic theology is an armoury for the destruction of every error. For the most part the divergent sects have long since yielded to the unifying tendency and the intellectual and spiritual decay of Islâm.

They have done their duty as birthhelpers of dogma and have forced orthodox Islâm to express herself more clearly and unambiguously over some important questions than she would have done of her own motion. Though a Moslim may give much attention to the study of sects (and very few do so) he will get thereby as false an idea of their nature as some parish priest of to-day would of the movement that prevailed in the early Christian church. Ghazâlî stood just on the boundary of the time when certain heresies were still dangerous and might easily have been successful in agression unless met by proper resistance: had he lived in our time,

he would certainly have treated most of the chapters which he himself embodied in the system of dogma, as of comparatively small interest, and on the other hand would have directed his efforts against popular superstitions and mystic jugglery.

To the minds of very few is any meaning conveyed by the doctrine that Allah's being is apart from His qualities, and that the Muʿtazilite heretics have wrongly denied the self-subsistence and even the existence of these qualities. The industrious student grasps only this much that the Muʿtazilites were stupid pigheads who held human reason to be the measure of truth — a terrible superstition. I have seen a smile of mocking astonishment pass over the faces of all the students present when the professor told them how the ignorant heathens who opposed Muhammed, had, like the philosophers, believed in human reason, and the professor smiled too with a shrug of his shoulders. The students impress on their minds the twenty qualities of God according to the scheme which owes its popularity to Senûsî, but, after hearing and reading the commentaries thereon, are convinced that they have only touched the surface of a sea of mysteries. Who would think of penetrating deeper?

More lively is the impression left by the study of the doctrine of predestination: this dogma is bound closely with the life of even the unlettered masses, and in the schools get its scientific support in the consciences of the students.

In the article of the apostles and their revelations the Moslim of our time is only moderately interested in the old question whether prophets have their share of all the weaknesses of human nature, and, if not, how far their *ʿismah* (freedom from sin) extends. Accustomed from his youth upwards to celebrate Muhammed in prayer and song as the sin-free chosen one, the student gives his attention only to the proofs of the unsurpassable greatness of the last of the prophets, and finds it natural that his predecessors also should have had some of his splendour.

The charm of novelty for most students is possessed by the doctrine that Christians and Jews profess religions recognised by Islam also as divine revelation, which have however been afterwards abrogated and which have not been handed down without an admixture of falsehood. The popular conceptions which the laity have of these

religions are, even according to Moslim doctrine, too unfavourable. The people regard them as kinds of heathendom which differ only formally from old Arabian unbelief. I was once present when the Shafi'ite Muftî to a company of fairly educated people who were however quite unversed in sacred doctrine, said to their general astonishment, when the conversation turned on wine and the bad consequences of its use, that this drink had not always been forbidden by God and that, when the Christian doctrine had not yet been abrogated, pious men might with a good conscience have taken a glass. Has then the Christian religion ever been valid? Is not wine of its nature a creation of the devil? asked the astounded gentlemen. Smilingly the Sheikh explained the matter to them and added that to learned men all that was well known, but that for them it would suffice to know that Islam was true and all else was false.

The pre-qur'anic sacred books themselves have never in the palmiest days of Moslim culture excited much interest and now excite less than ever. The polemics of the learned Indian Rahmat Ullah against English Christianity (see above) here and there attract the attention of the curious in Mekka also, where the old man now lives, but their curiosity is soon satisfied when they see what an easy task it was for the Sheikh to convict the English theologians of dreadful errors and inconsistencies.

In regard to the next world, the study of dogma advances the curious beyond popular expectations only to this extent, that these expectations are somewhat better arranged and combined. The prying into the exact time of the end of the world, which prying was however disapproved of in old traditions, and the pointing out, as the people so love to do, of certain events as signs of the coming catastrophe, all this is by no means unlearnt, for the professors themselves set the example. Almost all the students were following in 1884–1885 with lively interest the events in the Sudan, and joyfully awaited the moment, when the precursor of the Mahdî, after complete defeat of the English, would come across the Red Sea to the Holy City. About the rule of the Mahdî, its overthrow by the Antichrist, the second coming of Christ, the accumulating abnormal phenomena in nature and human society which will announce the approach of the Resurrection, about the examination of the dead in the grave, the final universal death and resurrection, the Judgment, of which the scenes of terror are to take up thou-

sands of years, about all this even the greatest lights of science teach with some additions and connecting links the strange stuff that the Moslim fancy has piled up out of Christian, Jewish and Persian traditions. We can no longer wonder at this, when we have seen what a man like Ghazâlî, who within Moslim limits was a comprehensive genius, relates in his book "The Precious Pearl", of the life after death. Details which originally could only have been meant figuratively belong according to him to reality; though, while telling us of the divine balance and such things, he warns us against anthropomorphism, he still opposes with none the less energy every attempt to explain such things symbolically. By this instruction is then the Moslim outlook on the world filled with wild unaesthetic fancy pictures, or at any rate belief in their reality is confirmed. It is true that some of these pictures have a moral meaning, but how deeply is it hidden under nonsense! It is difficult to decide whether the student gains anything by taking these dogmatic fables in place of the phantastic worldview that he brought with him out of the nursery.

Of more practical importance is the doctrine which, as is well known, is accepted as unquestionable in the Moslim world, that the Moslim, no matter how many his sins, must at some time attain for his faith the blessing of Paradise, while the Gardens of Bliss remain for ever closed to the non-Moslims. Divergent views which existed in the first centuries of Islam on this matter are now considered scarcely deserving of mention. I only once heard a professor in the Haram, more for the amusement than for the instruction of his scholars, searchingly examine and reject as erroneous the attempt of some tolerant mystics of older times to secure on the authority of the Qur'an salvation for pious non-Moslims after a time of purgation. Those mystics, he said, devoted attention to certain verses of the Qur'an where Hell is announced to Moslim sinners as their future abode and that with the addition 'wherein they shall remain'. If this addition when applied to Moslims does not mean the eternity of pain, then it should also in the case of unbelievers be taken in the sense that their sufferings by God's grace will come to an end. When those mystics were answered by the argument that those words occur in the Qur'an with the addition 'for ever' only in regard to infidels, then no other way out was found than the possibility that the grace of God might finally extinguish hell fire and make life tolerable there. "But", so concluded the professor,

"we will no longer waste our time by listening to the defenders of unbelief".

In the hot hours after midday prayer the professors work as little as possible. According to traditional usage each professor should give at least one lecture a day, but the rule is not strictly enforced and a professor may disregard it if other business calls him away, and for his neglect he will incur the reproach of public opinion. Only in very bad cases will the Sheikh al-ʿUlamâ take any notice. A professor may be ill for many months, or travel for a year, or stop his lectures for other reasons for a long time without the Sheikh hearing of it. About 4 p.m., that is to say a little after the afternoon prayer, lecturers begin to be more frequent in the mosque; not so many in Dogmatic as in the early afternoon, but more in Law. Especially the younger professors who in the morning and evening themselves hear lectures from the great Sheikhs, use this hour to initiate young students into the first five chapters of the Law, in which man's duties towards God are explained. Some great authorities are at the same time teaching the "instrumental" subjects (*âlât*) or the higher sciences as for instance Qur'an exegesis. As guiding threads in this exegesis (*tafsîr*) serve almost exclusively the works of Baidhâwî and the two Jalâls (Sujûtî and Mahallî) with the glosses thereon. I heard myself Baidhâwî read by the above mentioned "rector" Dahlân in 1885. He always had the work with him and explained it as he went along by a selection of marginal glosses. He seldom added renderings of his own, though he would not be ashamed to explain a word by reference to the current Mekkan speech. No one may attend the *tafsîr* lectures who has not several times recited the Qur'an from end to end according to the rules of *tajwîd*, and most of those who attend know the Qur'an by heart. It is interesting to observe, how such students now hear for the first time the sense of the mysterious words which they have been reciting.

There are some winged Qur'anic words which are in use in Mekka in more or less distorted form as proverbs e.g. "Every soul must taste death", and some single verses are commonly cited in cases where it is desired to invoke God's protection for one's rights, as the text above mentioned (page 88) is cited by women against their inconsiderate husbands; but even for the "knowers by heart"

the Holy Book as a whole remains closed with seven seals until the high science of the *tafsîr* has been studied by them or until learned friends have expounded to them separate passages. The Qur'an is to the Moslim community nearly what the Latin vulgata would be to Roman Catholics if the laity had all to recite a part of it correctly according to fixed rules. This is true even of the Arabs, as to them the Qur'anic Arabic is almost as strange as Latin is to Italians. The careful reciting of the Qur'an has certainly preserved among otherwise little cultivated Moslim Arabs some finer sense of language, and has contributed to preserve what remains of old Arabic in the modern vulgar speech. We Europeans find the Qur'an so helpful to understanding of the vulgar speech, and vice versa, that we cannot understand how it is otherwise with the Arabs. We cannot remember that while we read the Qur'an for its sense, the Moslim is accustomed from childhood to consider God's word as of entirely different nature from that of man, however similar the two may appear. The child remarks, how people, when they begin to recite God's word, assume another look and another voice, pronounce sounds and endings that are otherwise never heard, and soon, when he goes to school, imitates this procedure. The authorities in Sacred Law say that when we celebrate godly chanting (*dhikr*) or prayer, we must always understand the meaning of the formulae we use, while the mere recital of the Qur'an is rewarded by God independently of its comprehension. Sprenger has given the illustration of the prudish Englishwoman hearing, without noticing the sense, passages of the Bible which would otherwise give her the greatest offence. The only difference is that the Arab's colloquial speech is much further removed from the Qur'anic than the Englishman's is from the biblical, while it is impressed on the former as a dogma that the Qur'an is incomprehensible without extensive exegetical studies which are not required for the subjects of the Law or Dogma. The Qur'an recited is nothing but music glorifying God and mysteriously working on the human heart. The injunction of Ghazâlî to recite somewhat less and try to understand somewhat more is entirely out of date. For the learned and for the laity the study of exegesis, and the reciting of the Qur'an are two different and almost unconnected branches. What might be learnt from exegesis for doctrine and life can also be learnt by an easier method in the Sacred Law and in Dogmatic.

Original interpretation of the Qur'an is dangerous as is shown by the experience of a deeply learned but excentric man who came to Mekka from the Maghrib. He was intolerably conceited and infuriated the Mekkans by his mania for correcting them on points of language. They however found their chance against him when he revived a highly indecorous interpretation, long unheard in Mekka, of the Qur'an-verse (2:223): "Your wives are your ploughfield; go to your ploughfield from where you will". He was driven out to Medina where he lived in peace for some time, but there again while watching with some literati a skirmish between Beduins and Turkish soldiers from a roof in the town he irritated one of his companions by finding fault with his reading of some verse appropriate to the scene before them. "Yes", said the other, "your reading is right according to the school of the people of Sodom". He was thus in a crushing manner reminded of the Mekkan episode and had to leave the Hejaz.

After sunset until the *'ishâ*-prayer there is just time for one lecture which is given by the light of lanterns which all the students bring with them, while near the cushion of each professor a great lantern is placed by a servant, for the hanging mosque lamps are insufficient. These lectures are like the morning lectures mostly on the Sacred Law, few are on the *Uṣûl al-fiqh* (methodology of the Law). Many Beduin faces are seen among the students. These are the Harb camelbrokers (*mekharrijîn*) and their sons from the outlying Southwestern quarters of Mekka who come in for the evening prayer and remain to pick up some knowledge as a supplement to the elementary instruction which they have had in their own little mosques. Each of their quarters has one little mosque, but the pious among them go to the great mosque for the *maghrib* (sunset) service. They are often at home already well grounded in grammar, and they are generally distinguished for intelligence and good behaviour and are glad to be taught something even by young boys. Their chief defect is that they always shout as if calling to someone at a great distance.

An hour and a half after sunset is the *'ishâ*-prayer when the lanterns are put out and the circles of students break up. After this prayer lectures begin again in the mosque precincts, not on the subject of Law but on the subjects also treated in the afternoon,

namely the instruments and Dogmatic. Young unattached professors are now to be seen imparting not without dignified gestures the wisdom which they themselves so to say have only yesterday acquired. After these last lectures the spaces of the sanctuary are gradually emptied. Here and there a man lies down and sleeps on his mat or carpet. A few pious men put up voluntary night prayers, or see to it that the perambulating ground (*maṭâf*) round the Kaabah is never quite deserted, though according to tradition angels and *jinn* never fail to walk round the Kaabah though men neglect it.

On Tuesday and Friday even the loose rules that on other days bring the university life into some order are suspended, but there are opportunities to hear lectures nevertheless. On Friday morning the above mentioned Hadramî dwarf professor, Saʿîd Bâ Besêl, used in 1884–1885 to devote himself to those of the fair sex who had a taste for learning. Girls and women of the better classes were not so much initiated by him into any one or other branch of knowledge as provided with all sorts of useful sentences from the different disciplines (Law, Dogma, Tradition, and also general culture or *adab*). On other days the same Sheikh gave also to a female audience after the afternoon prayer lectures resembling sermons. Otherwise there is no reading on Friday morning, for the Law enjoins the faithful all to go to the Mosque, as early as possible take their places for the weekly service, and until its commencement occupy themselves with Qur'an-reciting and voluntary prayer or chanting of litanies (*dhikr*). After the service however some lectures take place in the Mosque on Fridays, and on Tuesdays even some in the morning. The Tuesday and Friday lectures however, unlike those of other days, have no connection with any previously given: the students are fewer, and the subjects are for the most part subjects for which there are no fixed hours on the other days. Such are, firstly, all the higher instrumental subjects (grammar, poetic, logic, rhetoric etc.) and occasionally also arithmetic, next Qur'an exegesis and the sacred tradition, and lastly the subject which we have not yet mentioned in this connection, mysticism (*taṣawwuf*).

It seems strange that this last subject, which deals with the direct relations of man with God, should be so to say put in the background. But in fact Ghazâlî's three great subjects (Law, Dogma, and Mystic) are not sharply divided one from another. All larger

works on Law contain passages of Dogmatic which explain certain texts or bring them into connection with previous ones, and the later law-teachers take every opportunity to urge that the observance of their precepts has no merit before the heavenly Judge, unless the personal relation of the pious to God is thereby expressed. Also dogmatic handbooks are interlarded with mystic sayings. In the specifically mystic works the knowledge of Law and Dogma is of course presupposed.

This fusion has not been brought about without concessions. The Law books condemn from a higher standpoint what they have already, according to their own casuistry, allowed. Many mystics on the other hand have no scruple in recommending this or the other evasion-method (*hîlah* — 'trick') of the learned. In this way the special separate treatment of mysticism (*taṣawwuf*) has become unnecessary for most people. Moreover some of the oldest traditions included in the canonical collection express dislike for the extravagances of the mystics, and according to these traditions mysticism is to be regarded as heresy unless preceded by sound instructions in Law.

Thereby no doubt originally the mystic fraternities were to some extent called to order. There is another tradition respected as canonical which says that the study of Law without mysticism is fruitless. In those old traditions which we have mentioned students however still see a warning against premature plunging into mysteries which might mislead the inexperienced.

Accordingly at the lectures which are given on mysticism on Fridays and Tuesday especially, but also whenever on other days, Law is not the chief item of the programme, we find for the most part the older men and far advanced students. The books used are all more or less excerpts or compilations from the works of Ghazâlî. Whoever has read his "Vivification of the Science of Religion" will hardly hear one new word in the lectures here. This great work was itself read out by the above mentioned Rector of the University in 1884–1885 after the Friday worship, and on other days he used to bring out a mystical compilation of his own which he purposed to get printed. It is a very significant fact in the present day Islam that the words of Ghazâlî which more than any others spoken in the *Haram* aim at the hearts of the pious, are now considered very mysterious. Generally speaking if there is anything difficult to understand in the great work of Ghazâlî it is certainly

some already popular phrases of the mystics into which however the Master has imported, so far as was possible, an ethical sense. The higher moral training of man which should use all departments of science as means to attain the deepest knowledge of God, so that the fulfilment of law becomes the natural consequence of love, has thus itself been degraded into a department in which men quibble as much as in those of casuistry or dogmatic. It is as though a deadening formalism adhered in Islam to that Nature who in vain is driven out from the front door as she at once slips in at the back door; thus Ghazâlî had not the slightest idea of separating forms as inessential from substance. He could only attempt to animate with ethic ideas the ritual, social and political laws that are valid for all times, as well as the dogmatic formulae and the mysterious utterances of mysticism. He has thereby no doubt opened up the roads by which even spirits of ethical endowment can seek salvation in orthodox Islam: upon the whole however the later Islam assimilated those ethical articles also as mere new formulae.

Even apart from the treasures which Ghazâlî has thus stored for exceptional soaring minds, the ethical tendency of this mysticism has bestowed unmistakable benefits on Islam. In his time the *taṣawwuf* (Sûfî mysticism) had long been a mighty power in Islam. Even the view that without mysticism a man could live a life pleasing to God, no longer found a representative in controlling circles. According to the later ideas, Muhammed and the best of his companions, his well guided successors, namely the first four Khalifs, and the pious leaders in all ages, had all of them been mystics.

The remaining question was whether an intimate personal intercourse with God could be attained otherwise than by the "ways" (*tarîqahs*) of these orders, on which ways, made smooth by guides, men could not move without the help of their successors. If to this question a negative answer had been accepted, then the chiefs of orders would have acquired an influence over the whole Moslim community which night have been dangerous to the representatives of the sacred knowledge. For these representatives could never raise a higher claim than that of being interpreters of canonical scriptures, to which they were not allowed to make additions, whereas in the orders the personal guidance of the spiritual guide was all, and the written word of this mystic truth handed down in the order was only an adaptable vesture. No wonder that in his time the Law

doctors and the dogmatists were for the most part jealously disposed towards the sheikhs of mystic orders.

To this question Ghazâlî avoided giving a definite unambiguous answer. He acknowledged the worth of the orders, but at the same time conceded to the men of learning that there was much chaff in the mystic grain. He is most emphatic in his warning against false and degenerate brotherhoods. To the spirit of the time he unfortunately made the concession of representing a personal guide (*murshid*) in the 'way' of mysticism as necessary, but he nowhere says that the services of a Sheikh of an order must be obtained, and he insists on the importance of a careful choice before one entrusts his highest treasure to the *murshid* or guide. Orthodoxy, exact observance of the Law, and moral qualities are the criteria, and to these the dogmatists and the interpreters of the Law can take no exception. The usual methods of the brethren, the litanies with violent movement, with singing and dancing, with hypnotising and narcotising exercises, are admitted by him if used only for the cultivation of religious ethical emotions and not themselves regarded as an end or used as a cloak for immorality. He thus paved the way for the purification of religious emotions from those barbarous admixtures. The quiet ethic mysticism or *taṣawwuf* without screams or contortions, though it gave way too much to formalism, is always rightly ascribed to the great master Ghazâlî. Other famous mystic writers who prefer to dwell in darkness and are busy in penetrating things hidden to all the world, and rejoice in a language unintelligible to profane creatures, such writers for instance as Ibn al-ʿArabî and Shaʿrânî, are in the hall of the University almost as highly prized as, but much less read than the author of the "Vivification of Religious Science". It is always to the credit of Islam that she is so partial to him.

Neither Ghazâlî nor his successors could have put a stop to the orders, if they had wished it, for they were too deeply rooted in the religious life of the people. Even an effective control over them was hindered by all sorts of difficulties. Except in cases like that of the Naqshibandî Sheikh above mentioned (p. 176) in which personal considerations move the Sheikh or brethren themselves to have recourse to the representatives of the Law, there is no means of keeping regular watch over the inner life of an order. Where,

however, popular mystics in any way sin against orthodoxy, their attackers must count on fanatical resistance on the part of the lower classes. Moreover, important men of learning have often expressed themselves in the sense that not only words but also certain actions which were generally thought blamable, had a higher meaning with the divinely illumined Sûfî's and were not to be lightly condemned. How difficult is it in these circumstances to decide in specific cases unless the arbitrary power of government intervenes!

Eminent men of learning have in their writings often expressed disapproval of the popular religious orders with their absurd thaumaturgy and their noisy processions, their Central-Asiatic beggar dervishes and their Sheikhs who work only to gather numbers of adepts round them. Very rarely however does one venture to oppose one of these blind leaders of the blind when surrounded by his people. Moreover the present evil case of Islam everywhere yielding to Frankdom inclines the *'ulamâ* to look with favour upon these who, however ignorant, can inspire real disinterested enthusiasm for the holy cause.

The theory is still maintained that the mystic training can only become fruitful after sufficient study of law and dogma. It is however nowhere forbidden to hold *dhikrs* (chants) in honour of Allah and Muhammed. Such dhikrs continually take place in social gatherings where a family feast gives occasion for a dinner party, and the Qur'an recommends in countless passages the *dhikr*, which word really means 'mentioning' or 'recalling' (the name of God). If their experience shows that the great masses who have had no sufficient education, are led to the higher life by the exercises of the mystic orders, should not every true believer rejoice thereat?

When the leadership of a mystic order evidently only serves for the exploitation of the superstitious masses, the false guides are still sharply censured by the learned, and the latter also are careful to observe whether candidates (*murîds*) are before admission into an order held to the strict performance of their religious duties, which they have generally neglected in their previous lives. Almost all the important orders indeed satisfy this requirement. To the new candidates the mysterious blessing which passes through the sheikhs of the orders from the original founders is the bait of attraction, and they cannot get it unless their lives to some extent conform to the Sacred Law. After the preliminary conversion they commence the special *tarîqah* exercises. From the mouth of the

teacher they learn some simple formulae which they have to utter in the prescribed attitude after one or more of the daily obligatory prayers. Daily they perform special *dhikrs* under the leadership of the sheikh or his assistants in the circle of the brethren with precisely regulated movements of the body. Every week single individuals are received by the sheikh in a cell, and receive from him a special charge or task of a mystic kind. Many go no further than these externals, but when they return home after some months of such instruction they have been made by the *tarîqah* into pious Moslims, for they bind themselves to the continuance of the performance of the dhikrs and therewith to the performance of their regular prayers without which the dhikrs have no blessing in them. Also, wherever they may go, they join any brethren that may be there in pious exercises, obey the representatives (*khalîfah*'s) of their sheikhs, and help one another when the occasion arises.

More highly cultivated aspirants and those who live for a considerable time under the direct supervision of the sheikh or a khalîfah (sheikh's representative) penetrate deeper into the mysteries of the order. Their relations with the teacher are closer, and finally they enter into the solemn contract (*'ahd*) with him. Thenceforth they can undertake nothing important without first obtaining the concurrence of the Master, and every time that they leave him, he imparts to them precise rules of life or refers them to his representative in the place to which they are going. But even those who stand in the outer courts of the mystic sanctuary, must in many orders take oath of obedience to be "in the hand of the sheikh like the corpse in the hand of the corpsewasher". In most societies the opportunity of learning at any rate the ordinary chants (*dhikr*) of the order, and its attendant ceremonies, is secured to the devotees without further obligations, so that it is possible for one person to be member of several orders. Hence the brethren say often, it does not so much matter from whom one takes 'the road' for the blessing only, whereas the resolve to enter into the bond with a sheikh decides a man's fate for eternity, for the breach of the bond brings on the guilty one the curse of God, and of all sheikhs, prophets and angels.

On a superficial view any one will see the eminent importance of the *tarîqahs* for the religious life of Mekka and of all Moslim lands which in various ways obtain their spiritual nourishment from the holy city. On the slope of the Mount of Abû Qubês stands

not only the convent (*zâwiyah*) of the Senûsîs (see above p. 55) but also a great conventual establishment of the Naqshibandî order, which establishment has been founded by Sheikh Suleiman and is inhabited by him and many brethren. The cost has been entirely borne by the brethren initiated into the *tarîqah* by the Sheikh Suleiman. Their contributions moreover enable him to supply needy brethren with meals and clothing, which naturally increases his influence and the veneration which he inspires. On the feast days of the Order and on other occasions he receives here all the brethren who may happen to be in Mekka and entertains them in the most lavish manner. Smaller convent buildings that are used only as meeting places for brethen of orders are here very numerous. The other sheikhs of the Naqshibandîs, Qâdirîs, Shâdhilî's etc., for the most part however occupy roomy houses of which each room is filled to overflow with the costly gifts of their venerators. Their subordinates (*khalîfah's*, i.e. representatives, and so forth) dwell partly in the sheikh's houses and partly have dwellings of their own maintained out of the chest of the order.

Dhikr meetings, weekly meals, money doles for poorer brethren, monthly feasts on the so called death-day (*haul*, see above p. 43) of the founder, all this takes place here in the house of the sheikh. Daily meetings are often held by the societies which have no building of their own after prayer in the mosque. Often one hears one brother address to another the reproachful question "Why were you not this morning in the circle of the brethren?"

Apart from the tracts of the sheikhs which are mostly aimed at more or less practical objects, the study of mystical works in the *tarîqahs* is confined within a very small compass, and, as for any further knowledge, many sheikhs are not ashamed to confess that they have of it only what is needed in practice, but at the same time they give to understand that with them the connection between knowledge and life is much closer and more serious than with those learned men who do not put in practice what they preach, whereas the holy tradition teaches that knowledge without works is positively harmful.

On the other hand those European writers are radically mistaken who assert that the corporation of the learned are in general hostile to the *tarîqahs*. They are, it is true, far from thinking that the brotherhoods of to-day ever approach realisation of the designs of their founders. But they know from experience, as well as from

the words of wisdom of the Prophet, that this world must till its end remain in religious matters continually backsliding, and therefore they cannot reproach individual sheikhs or brethren with the difference between ideal and reality in the mystic province, seeing that the state of things in their own circle is no better. The gigantic success above indicated of the *tarîqahs* excites their gratitude and admiration.

No doubt the overpowering influence of certain sheikhs of *tarîqahs* excites from time to time the jealousy of the professors, but these are isolated cases which do not affect the appreciation of the brotherhoods as such. Most significant is the fact that several highly esteemed professors in Mekka are at the same time representatives of mystic orders, as e.g. Sheikh Abd al-Hamîd of Daghestân, his pupil Habîb Allah and Muhammad Sâlih, father of Abdallah Az-Zawâwî. Of course these learned mystics expect more knowledge in postulants than do those sheikhs who themselves are only to a moderate degree versed in dogma or law, but they do not blame the latter for attaching more importance to good morals than to learning. Only such a mission as that which is carried on by the Senûsîs among the Harb Beduins must remain distasteful to them, despite its apparent success.

Certainly all the learned are displeased when their pupils, while still young and before they have attained any degree of knowledge, allow themselves to be led away into the mysteries of an order, for this generally interferes with their studies. "The *tarîqahs* are of course", they say, "open to you, but first you must have travelled "the long road of learning. "What you may now reach, lies first of "all before you in the Mosque where Ghazâlî initiates into Sûfiism "the seekers of salvation, and further you can choose for yourselves "a personal curer of souls and confessor without danger of error". The *tarîqahs* however, for the most part, perform their useful task in other circles from which God's wisdom has withheld the opportunity of culture. We have sufficiently seen above how much the cultivation of the trinity of sacred knowledge, (Law, Dogma, and Mystic), has contributed to the maintenance of the religious-political ideal of Islam, and how the Mekkan environment strengthens the pan-Islamic views and hopes that are evoked by this study. The fact of students from all regions living together keeps up the consciousness of the wide diffusion of their religion, and puts away the idea that is brought by many youths from Frankruled lands

that the Moslims are condemned for an indefinite time to servitude. Even the representatives of the great powers in Jeddah do not dare to set foot in Mekka, and their life apart in the porttown makes them be seen from a distance as tolerated inhabitants of an inferior race. Once it is true Jeddah was at their instance bombarded, but should they attempt to attack Mekka, then would the Sultan — nay God himself would hurl on them His lightning from Heaven. They however have no thought of it. The precursors of the Mahdî on the other side of the Red Sea give them enough to do. Here in Mekka we are all subjects of the Sultan of Islam. Not even does the hateful crusade against slavery make itself felt here. It can be imagined how differently the reading of the chapters of the holy war, of the conventions with unbelievers, and of the abolishment of the Jewish and Christian revelations affects men's minds here and in some Indian mosque. Yea, truly, Mekka is the centre of the world. From Mekka the victories of the awaited rightly-guided one must start. The majority and the most industrious of the students are strangers who settle down here for some years and then spread to good purpose in their fatherland the knowledge and views which they have here imbibed.

More efficacious than the nourishment given from above to the higher spiritual strata of humanity is that which is absorbed by the wide lower strata. Into those lower strata the *tarîqahs* make their way. By insistence on the minimum of lawful duties and dogmas they arouse in their adherents the consciousness of solidarity with the great international community. By a motley collection of narcotising and intoxicating methods they give scope to the human passions, and at the same time secure full control over those passions. Their time-honoured organisation enables some leading men to use every favourable movement for a stirring of the masses. The *tarîqahs* do not fail to work on the higher classes also. They have many brethren and admirers in the official world and among cultivated people. Regard must of course be paid to the peculiarities of such adherents, but for this purpose there are many orders of various organisation, and the fatherconfessors have within wide limits the faculty to take into account the natural dispositions of individuals. Great statesmen eagerly vie for the favour of sheikhs who have at their disposal such troops of disciples.

Like the University so mysticism gains in Mekka its disciples chiefly from without. Malays, Turks and Indians supply the chief

contingent. From above and below these colonies are thus worked upon in the panislamic sense. The pilgrims who stay only a few months are also in large numbers recruited for the *tarîqahs* in the confident expectation that their defective mystic training will be supplemented hereafter, as they are now within reach of wholesome lasting influences.

It may easily be guessed what are the abuses that most commonly infect even respected *tarîqahs*. All who hold any office in the order, get on occasions gifts for themselves or gifts for the brotherhood, of which latter gifts they have unrestrained disposal. They are therefore tempted to give their best attention to the material accessories, and in general to use their great influence for other ends than to lead their disciples on the path of knowledge of the Law and to keep alive the ideals of Islam in their hearts. All the evil consequences which are entailed by too great unchecked power of men over men naturally display themselves in the *tarîqahs*. The 'chain' (*silsilah*), i.e. the spiritual pedigree of the sheikh, shows how the peculiar mysterious doctrine of the founder has been passed to him from mouth to mouth. Further, just as the earthly genealogy of a noble serves to prove that the blood of the noble ancestor flows in his veins, so does the *silsilah* show that its rightful possessor holds in himself the spirituality (*rûhâniyyah*) of the holy founder. Thus he is the mouthpiece of the beatified eponymos of the order. The spirituality of the latter passes likewise through a chain from one of the companions of the Prophet, and so is traced further through the intervention of Muhammed back to God himself.

It is one of the hypnotising thoughts that must accompany the litanies of certain orders that a man in the thousandfold recitation of the confession of faith should incessantly bring forward the presence of God in his own heart. As however such high conceptions are hardly possible for the beginner, there must here also be mediation. Let him first picture to himself only the form of his sheikh in his heart, and after repeated exercises he will succeed in raising himself up to God by the sheikh's spirituality. Again and once again the inevitable sheikh, who must really without reserve be described as the representative of God for the brethren who are under him.

In conclusion, our remarks on the learned life of Mekka may now be directed to the occasional deviations from the ordinary course of instruction in the Haram. With the exception of some irregularities due to the caprice or the mutual personal relations of the students and professors, the order which we have described prevails tolerably undisturbed during the first seven months of the year. After the middle of the seventh month, Rèjèb, the teachers appoint one hour of the day, for instance the hour of the after-sunset lecture, for the edifying recitations of the history of Muhammed's journey to Heaven of which the anniversary comes round on the twenty seventh. Similarly but less universally, already during the first days of the third month (Rabîʿ al-awwal) the biography of Muhammed (Môlid) is treated, only the regular lectures are not for this purpose so often interrupted as there are almost every day several môlids in Mekka. In the eighth month (Shaabân) the lectures naturally retire into the background behind the prayers for the effacing of the fateful divine decrees. Apart from this however, all teachers begin in the first days of this month to read the chapter of the Fasts so as to prepare themselves and their pupils for the exactest observance of the precepts of the Law in the approaching month of fasting Ramadhân. Lectures on fasting take the place of one or another of the ordinary lectures, only that it is still preferred to devote the meetings after the prayer of dawn to the subject that has been treated at this hour ever since the beginning of the year i.e. the Sacred Law. The subject matter is so arranged that towards the appearance of the new moon the chapter of fasting is ended. In most of the other courses of lectures the professor stops at any point that he may have reached, for no fixed task is set and each subject can easily be treated at will.

As soon as 'Sheikh Ramadhan' is ruling, the University 'semester' is definitely closed, and each year has but one such semester. The learned men however, just as, in spite of the official rest, they work at the spreading of knowledge on Tuesday and Friday, so also teach in the holiday months so far as circumstances permit. In the month of fasting they can lecture only after the dawn prayer and the afternoon prayer, for in the afternoon every one is asleep, after sunset is the time for eating, and in the night the whole mosque is claimed for the Ramadhân prayers (*tarawîḥ*). In the only two hours left open the most industrious professors lecture, and especially those of dogmatic. If students ask for it, lectures in

grammar also can be given after the afternoon prayer, and in 1885 the Shafiʿite Muftî continued at the same hour his course of Qur'an exegesis, and Sheikh ʿAbbâs his reading of Bukhârî's collection of traditions. In small circles of students some individual sheikhs would expound towards the time of fast-breaking some edifying tracts.

When the feast days of Shawwâl (see above, p. 72 sqq.) are over, the thoughts of the Mekkans are gradually all taken up with the pilgrim feast that is coming in two months. Even the few professors who succeed in one hour in the day in finding room for themselves and their circles in the Mosque which is ever being more and more filled with strangers, occupy themselves exclusively with the Hajj (pilgrimage) in that they prepare their disciples for the performance of an acceptable pilgrimage by reading to them the chapter of Hajj in a book of divinity or in one of the many special manuals (*manâsik*) for the pilgrim, just as was done in the month Shaabân for the Fast. A few such Hajj readings even go into the eleventh month Dhu'l-qaadah, but then the increasing noise of the pilgrim business puts a stop to the academic zeal and all thoughts of resuming lectures before the middle of the first month of the ensuing year must be given up.

We have already mentioned by the way the lectures delivered by foreign teachers in their mother tongue and in their own houses to introduce their countrymen to the sacred knowledge. Their instruction goes parallel with that of the Haram in regard to the division of times and subjects. That is not incidental, for the hours of teaching are determined by the times of divine service and the order in which each subject is treated is connected with its relative importance in the opinion of the present day Islam. The preparation for fasting and pilgrimage is wanted by students outside as well as those inside the Haram, and both like to interrupt in Rèjèb the every day instruction by the edifying reading of the ascension legend.

From the chronicles of Mekka, which indeed give little attention to the history of culture, we may conclude with certainty that a life of learning like that which we have described, has been astir in the town for centuries past. If so excellent an observer as Burckhardt says nothing of this[9] and sets forth in very exaggerated

[9] Travels in Arabia I. 274 sqq., 390 sqq.

terms the deficiency of the Mekkans in culture and knowledge,[10] this is fresh proof of what we have already often stated, that Mekka appears to the pilgrim and to the resident in quite different lights.[11] I will add a short commentary on one usage which Burckhardt describes. On Friday, he says, after the midday service some Turkish professors used to collect in the mosque, each one round himself, a circle of his countrymen to whom they would give religious lectures in their mother tongue. While receiving the kiss of departure these disciples gave them a money present. This account holds good for to-day, but what follows must be added: During the university vacations, when the Mosque is full of Turkish pilgrims, resident Turks bleed their countrymen in this fashion. Those professors are of the lowest class, for others would be ashamed to take such payment, and these occasional professors would be careful not to work in the Mosque precincts in term time. When in Shawwâl 1302 (July 1885) the weekly appearance of these men first began, a Mekkan said to me, pointing at them with his forefinger: 'there come the frogs', and in explanation he added that the frogs always croaked when it has rained (pilgrims) "for their own advantage of course". The men however are looked upon as interlopers on the market of knowledge.

Mekka has in every century of Islam counted important men of learning among its citizens, and the holy science has here for centuries had one of its best workshops; but in the present day for the first time a concurrence of different causes has made of the holy city a unique centre of learning for the whole Muhammedan world.

---

[10] Op. cit. I. 396. Also for his time this opinion was wrong, as may be seen from the modern chronicles of Mekka, the existence of which B. has wrongly denied.

[11] In another place (I. 401) B. says: "I cannot describe marriage feasts as celebrated at Mekka, not having attended any". And the few data about domestic feasts which he gives after these words are in many respects false. It would have been easy for me to give on many pages of my book remarks on important errors in Burckhardt's work, but I hope the reader will believe me when I say that I have studied the book thoroughly, that I should not have been able to write mine without having done so, and that I have too great a respect for my excellent predecessor to be able to find fault with him.

PART IV

THE JÂWAH

An enquiring Egyptian engineer-officer, who for several years accompanied the Egyptian pilgrim caravans and the Mahmal in an official capacity, twice published a report on his experiences.[1] In his report published in 1886[2] he thus described the immigrant section of the population of Mekka: "they are a mixture of Jâwah, Indians, Egyptian, Turks, Takrûrîs, Yèmènites and Beduins: their sole merchandise is Zemzemwater, henna and arak-wood, from which are made a form of tooth-pick (used by Moslims as tooth brushes). Most of the merchants are foreigners, some lend out money at interest (*ribh*) so that they lend out 10 and get 12 or more back, or they exploit the pilgrims as much as possible, *particularly the Jâwah because these are foreigners and well-to-do*". Apparently, the semi-European educated Egyptian had only superficially observed the conditions, but nevertheless it is significant that without any particular rhyme or reason he puts forward the Jâwah so prominently. Under this name[3] are included in Arabia all people of Malay race, in the fullest meaning of the term; the geographical boundary is perhaps from Siam and Malacca to New Guinea. Moslims and non-Moslims in Mekka are called Jâwah, but the letter are all slaves.[4] Travellers from Mekka however sometimes come into contact with Jâwah heathens or with Jâwah who profess Hinduism. A class of Jâwah who dwell outside the geographical boundaries but who in late years have made regular pilgrimages to Mekka are people from the Cape of Good Hope. They are derived from Malays, formerly brought to the Cape by the Dutch, with a small mixture of Dutch blood. Some words of their Malay speech have passed into the strange, clipped Dutch, dialect of the Boers.[5] On the other hand they have exchanged their mother tongue for Cape Dutch, of course

---

[1] See page 113, Note.

[2] Kaukab al-Hajj, page 20.

[3] All lands populated by them are called inclusively Bilâd el-Jâwah: an individual is called Djâwah (plur. Djâwât) also Jâwî (plur. Jâwah or Jâwiyyîn).

[4] See above pages 14–15.

[5] E.g. *bayang* = banyak, "much", *amper* = ampir, "almost".

retaining many Malay expressions. Taking into consideration the genuinely Dutch names of many of these *Ahl Kâf* (as they are called in Mekka) one is tempted to believe that degenerated Dutch have been drawn by them into their religion, and many types among them increase the probability of this suggestion. Separated from intercourse with other Moslims they would scarcely have had the moral strength to hold to their religion, had not eager co-religionists come to them from abroad. When and whence these came is not known to me; however this may be, the mosques in Cape Colony have been more fervently supported in the last twenty years than ever before, more trouble is taken in teaching religion and every year some of the *Ahl Kâf* fare on pilgrimage to the Holy City.

In accordance with their origin the Mekkans have designed for them a "Sheikh" among the guides of the Jâwah, but their special history has given them a place rather *near* than *in* the Jâwah group. Most of the "Cape Pilgrims" being fairly well off, they at once attracted sympathetic attention from many of the citizens. Some Turks and Mekkans actually travelled to the newly discovered province of Islam and did not fail in attempts to convert the Ahl Kâf from Shafi'ites they originally were, to the Ḥanafī rite; the revival of their almost forgotten Moslim traditions being counted in some degree as a rebirth into Islam.

In Constantinople the printing of a work on Moslim Law in Cape Dutch with Arabic letters, was encouraged from high quarters, in short, they seem to have regarded the new Brethren at the Southern point of Africa as a success for the Pan-Islam movement. The Sheikh of the mu'addhins in Mekka who was friendly to me, belonged to that class of Mekkans who, without themselves being pilgrims sheikhs, exploit the pilgrims indirectly. He also took pleasure in the Ahl Kâf, and he even interested himself in their language. One day he came to me with pieces of paper on which he had written Arabic sentences with their equivalent "in Cape language" jotted down in Arabic letters. He wanted to hear which of the other Jâwah tongues, the "Cape" was most similar to. In fairly good "Africander" the Mekkan brought out, for instance: "hoe gaat het nog met jou?" ("how are you now?"), "drink jij zwart thee of vaal thee?" ("will you drink black or green tea?").[6] On arrival in Arabia the Pilgrims at once exchange their Dutch names for Arabic ones.

[6] Vide my "Mekkanische Sprichwörter", page 33 sq.

The Capelanders have almost no intercourse with the real Jâwah; and from now on these will absorb our attention. In this we should be justified even without looking upon the foreign colonies in Mekka from a Dutch standpoint, for the Egyptian author cited above did not stress the significance of the *Jâwah* without reason. There is scarcely any part of the Moslim world where the proportion between the number of the population and the yearly pilgrimages is as favourable to Mekka, as in the Malay Archipelago. Whilst numerous beggars travel from British India to Mekka, there comes from the Bilâd el-Jâwah scarcely a poor man unless it be as the servant or companion of a richer one who supports him. Mostly they are unpretentious people. The old national traditions of the island states are obscured to their consciousness by Islam and they consider that despite all former greatness of native or Indian origin their real civilisation began with the conversion to Islam.

In many Malay lands the people have an entirely legendary or semi-legendary tradition as to the introduction of Islam. According to the former the conversion already took place in the time of Muhammed, and indeed was occasioned by his orders. According to the latter, the Princes are supposed to have been won to the true religion by some Saint or other from the West. The native chroniclers often ascribe the Sultan's title borne by Malay Princes to a Mekkan origin: the Grand Sherif or "Raja Mekka" is supposed to have granted them such dignities at their petition. Many of the older Malay legends have only fantastic notions of the Sultan of Rûm (Turkey) and, although the present-day Malays are better acquainted with the Grand Seigneur of Stamboul, Mekka is still to them the centre of Islam. In contrast to such peoples as the Egyptians, Turks, Persians and Indians, who have played a great role on the stage of Islam, the Jâwah step with modesty and reserve as if to proclaim with every footfall their conviction that they have not themselves earned their part in the blessings of Islam.

Ever unpretentious, they were better off formerly than they are to-day; one can easily imagine that the Mekkans have always squabbled among themselves over the advantages of a race so easily to be exploited. It is a pity that neither the Mekkans nor the Jâwah themselves have given us details as to the developments in relations between Mekka and the Far East. One can safely imagine that the steamships of the last decades have considerably increased this traffic. Formerly the Malays must trust themselves to Arab sailing

captains who overcrowded their ships at Achèh (Acheen), Singapore etc., and did not regard it as an unmixed evil if during the voyage the mass of passengers was somewhat thinned out by epidemics etc. Now they travel by Dutch or English steamers from Batavia, Padang, or Singapore either direct to Jeddah or to the quarantine islands, where the exploitation begins. The whole quarantine arrangement has no other genuine purpose than exploitation, it is however so admirably organised that the health authorities in Constantinople succeed in convincing the highest medical authorities in Europe (to whom the real conditions of the Orient are unknown, and remain unknown despite fleeting visits) as to the wholesome working of their system of extorting money. Anyone who has seen such things close at hand almost despairs of the power of truth. However, although the pilgrims have gradually learnt to regard it as a condition of the pilgrimage, that, for the commonweal, before entry into Jeddah, they must pass some time shut up on an unhealthy island[7] where they must pay everything double, also quarantine fees, and from whence they often carry fever with them; on the whole the journey is very much more comfortable and safe than it was thirty years ago.

The Dutch government is unjustly criticised for protecting as far as possible the interests of Dutch steamship companies, and for thus indirectly encouraging the increase of the Pilgrims, feared as fanatical *hajjis*.[8] We shall deal much farther on with this conclusion; for the moment we may emphasize that the only consequence of the withdrawal of our Government support would be that our ships might be shouldered out of the traffic but that the volume of pilgrim traffic would not be reduced.

On their side the Mekkans lose no opportunity to increase the advantages to be sucked from the Jâwah lands. The "sheikhs" send out their agents[9] in all directions to recruit pilgrims for the next pilgrimage; they promise such hajjis who by much travelling are familiar with the conditions, a good reward for every pilgrim sent to them, and on taking leave beg all the hajjis to send them as

[7] In Mekka, the Malays actually speak of "Kamarân sickness" from the Island Kamarân where they are forced to submit to the quarantine swindle. For this see "Verhandlungen der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde", Berlin, Vol. XIV, pages 146–7.

[8] We use this Malay form of the word to denote pilgrims from the Jâwah lands.

[9] In Java, these are often mistaken for "sheikhs".

many of their countryfolk as possible. Apart from this sherîfs and sèyyids travel out of Mekka, on rare occasions also Sheybis,[10] moreover Sheikhs of mystic orders, and learned men, to every Jâwah land the gates of which are open to them. As guests of princes and regents, they live for some time a pleasant life and return home with rich booty or as representatives of learning and mystics they get plentiful gifts from lower class people who either enjoy their instruction for some time, or on fleeting visits purchase the blessing of their prayers. If the Government did not make all sorts of difficulties for such enterprises the Malay Archipelago would be literally flooded by such adventurers. This would be dangerous in the political sense for although the aim of these religious freebooters is merely to fill their pockets, they soon see in European Government and above all in Frankish influence, a hostile power and resist this in secret and openly wherever possible. Completely to achieve their aim, in fact, either they or their patrons must dispose of supreme power whereas at present they must submit to the painful observation of suspicious authorities. In any case the credulity of the masses in Jâwah lands enables foreign Moslims too easily to seduce them into religious-politics movements and if the agitators are Arabs, they can always be sure of a certain amount of success. The immigration of Hadhramîs is only less dangerous because religion plays no part in their "*Wanderlust*", despite which the Arab colonies will always form an element whose life and work cannot be left unsupervised.

Now that modern conditions have made the pilgrim traffic of the Jâwah more vigorous than before, the visits of Arab learned men, mystics and other knights of fortune to the Jâwah lands have been reduced in proportion as the government passed into European hands. While the Jâwah principalities were still independent, the arrival of an illustrious Arab often meant an outburst of religious enthusiasm whereas now such guests, even if their purpose is to touch the religious side of Jâwah hearts, from fear of the Government cover up their real object as far as possible with a pretence of merchant affairs.

Although the period in which Jâwah pilgrims could be counted annually in thousands may be very recent, a fairly active traffic

[10] On the Sheybah-family see above p. 21.

has certainly endured over two centuries. The Mekkans, whose trade demands practical studies in psychology, did not need so long a time to learn the characteristics of the Jâwah in general as also of the various branches of this family of peoples. Their observations are the most thorough and trustworthy in the cases where they themselves have practical interest but their generalisations have also their value as characterising the position of the Jâwah in Mekka.

They have a great reputation for piety, although many, at the outset, clearly show that they lack the foundation of a thorough religious training. This is overlooked, as all apparently visit the Holy City without ulterior motive. They bring no merchandise, threaten no one with competition, enter on the contrary the Holy Territory with a money-bag which they mean to empty there. If they mean to remain longer in Mekka they draw for funds upon possessions at home; a Government pension earned by service or an annual income promised by their family in accordance to their standing. Older Jâwah, who settle here either for life or for some years, wish to devote their last days to religious practices on the pure soil: younger ones devote themselves to religious studies. Such guests of God, and also the Jâwah who make the Hajj and the "Visit" to the holy tombs in Medina, and then return home distinguish themselves not alone by *naive* faith but by honesty in their dealings. The honesty of the Jâwah is almost proverbial in Mekka: while for instance, the Mekkan merchant only very seldom without adequate guarantee will give his wares to a stranger to take away and test, it is always said of a Jâwah who asks such permission, "He's a Jâwah, so it doesn't matter".[11]

If a Jâwah servant complains to the chief of the market police about overreaching or fraud on the part of a salesman, the *Ḥâkim* almost always believes his word and has the accused thrashed until he confesses. For these reasons lower-class Jâwahs are much sought for as free servants, particularly the Javanese because they are extraordinarily docile and hardworking. A prominent Javanese always takes many low-class country folk to Mekka with him; these wait upon him in exchange for their food and lodging. Such youths are willingly engaged by the Mekkans as helpers in the pilgrim business or as body-servants. The Sheikh èl-ʿUlamâ Ahmed Dahlân never went out unless accompanied by his two faithful Javanese.

---

[11] Jâwah mâ ʿalêhsh.

In recent years however, the praise for piety is no longer accorded to the Jâwah unreservedly: the increase in the traffic is responsible for this. Young Javanese hear from returned compatriots how comfortable life in Mekka is, how easily one can purchase there a beautiful Abyssinian, or marry an Egyptian, or how with a few hundred guilders as yearly income one can live as an independent citizen of the Moslim capital. Youths with such aspirations have come in larger numbers, and when the promised remittances have failed to arrive, or did not suffice for their expensive way of living, the Mekkan moneylenders advanced them money unhesitatingly. They were accustomed to lend money, in a hasardous way, for interest, and knew no more reliable debtors than the Jâwah. But the debts increased, the remittances stopped and finally it happened that a creditor put his Jâwah debtor in prison. In some cases such measures caused the friends of the arrested one to send to his relatives an urgent prayer for help, gradually however these measures being continually applied also failed of effect. There now remained for the debtors nothing but flight; when possible they fled to Jeddah and travelled secretly by steamer back to their country. There, their relatives afforded them at least rice and sleeping quarters, but their creditors received in answer to all threatening or pleading letters at most a few pious phrases picked up by their debtors in Mekka.

Their Mekkan friends forgave their folly willingly enough while their money lasted; they encouraged their inclination to pomp and extravagance and ever exposed the reckless Jâwah to new temptations. But now as the business ran on the rocks they suddenly discovered the shadow side of the Jâwah character. Many Malays neglected without scruple their religious duties: their intercourse with the fair sex was too free, they were vain and stupid and lacked the sentiment of honour; they had no respect for their word pledged to friends and ran from their creditors like thieves. In similar pronouncements spoke more disappointment than moral indignation, for in Mekka on an average half the citizens are in debt, not all made with any intention to repay. But what justified the Jâwah in imitating such bad examples?

Other complaints were added to the above. Many of the Jâwah settled in Mekka were infected by the Mekkans' spirit of profiteering, others forced by urgent need to seek for means of livelihood. But most of them lack the cunning and endurance needed to do business in this neighbourhood. The only Jâwah whom I saw in Mekka as

a shop-assistant was a man from Achèh (Acheen), and everyone pointed him out as a curiosity.

There are Jâwah who, after having become more or less Mekkans, when their money is spent make a trip home to sell rosaries, Arabic books, scent etc., or attempt to profit financially from their wisdom (learnt in Mekka), their mysticism or merely from the aroma of their Mekkan sanctity. Others manufacture, with help of their Mekkan families, objects of little worth and sell them annually through relatives at home where on account of their origin they fetch a high price. Thus I knew a sheikh whose ḥarîm (women) and boys passed their leisure hours in embroidering little white caps (ʿaraqiyyehs worn under the turban, or at home without a turban on the shaven head). Every cap worth about 4 pence brought him 1 or 2 dollars.

The most obvious source of income to the Jâwah settled in Mekka is of course the exploitation of their countrymen on pilgrimage. More or less, the Jâwah settled in Mekka have always enjoyed advantages from pilgrims from their district. These gave them gifts as students of science, or the sums set apart from the estates of dead relatives to pay for deputy-pilgrimages. Such Jâwah who originally came to Mekka in the service of their countrymen, or who from lack of funds later served their "sheikhs" as salaried servants, gradually acquired sufficient local knowledge and experience themselves to serve as "sheikhs" and as guides to their countryfolk. What they lacked in cunning and experience in comparison with their Mekkan competitors, they made up for by intimate knowledge of home customs. Also they had control of quite different connections which rendered it easier for them to recruit a considerable number of pilgrims.

Sufficient to say that long before the order had been introduced[12] whereby every sheikh of Jâwah pilgrims must have a licence (*taqrîr*) for a special district, many of the Jâwah in Mekka had licences as pilgrim sheikhs, which they well knew how to use to good effect among their countryfolk.

The social position of a guide of pilgrims in Mekka may vary widely. Between the sherîfs for whom the office is too low, and

[12] See page 78.

the *jarrârîn* and their sort for whom it is too high, there are many *strata* in any of which a sheikh may be. If a citizen is rich and fashionable he suffers no degradation by purchasing a licence as sheikh, and a fortune earned as sheikh brings him influence and consideration. But if the business goes badly, the title mutawwif or sheikh-hujjâj doesn't count for much. Among the Jâwah it is otherwise. The regents and sons of princes would not accept the office of sheikh, and their learned men do not boast about the title even if, occasionally, they have it, but for the broad masses of *Jâwah* the licence is a desirable title. To the inhabitants of such distant countries with their pronounced penchant for names and titles the "by appointment, Sheikh in Mekka" sounds wonderfully well. And even the better educated regard it as many intelligent Europeans regard titles bought in Southern Europe. They know indeed that it is all a matter of money and a spice of cunning, but still regard the wearers with smiling homage.

The members of the Jâwah colony in Mekka, competing with born Mekkans, naturally acquire many of their bad qualities, but even without these would still be hated by them as competitors: their activity thus influences the judgment of the Mekkans on the Jâwah, unfavourably.

For these reasons, there are now in circulation all sorts of disparaging criticisms on the guests from the Far East.

When a caravan of Jâwah pilgrims draws into Mekka, one often hears the street youngsters, and mule-drivers shouting out, with scornful gestures: *manshûrî* (*pentjuri*, Malay: thief) or *tîwân* (*tuwan*, Lord). These *canaille* however persecute all the few fashionable foreigners with their ill-will, and the Jâwah, until they have become accustomed to the conditions, behave in a peculiarly helpless fashion.

Every Mekkan can tell anecdotes as to this. The sheikhs of a newly arrived Jâwah-caravan, about to go for the first time in company of a helper to *tawâf* (circumambulation around the Kaabah) in the Mosque, urgently warn their wards to keep their eyes on the guides so as not to lose their way and fall into the hands of touts. Despite this, these succeed almost regularly in 'cutting out' a few pilgrims. They take the simple Jâwah by the hand, gabbling out prayers and if he resists they explain in Malay that they are servants of the Kaabah and perform their services as guides gratis, *liwajh illâh*. When the ceremonies are over, they make it clear to their victims, not without threatening gestures, that they deserve

Hell if they do not reward their guides suitably. Many Mekkans declare that it often happens that such touts weave into the Arabic prayers spoken after them a clause whereby the victimised solemnly take oath, "to give this one their guide 4 dollars" and later threaten the poor pilgrims with the divine curse should they break this their first oath sworn before the Kaabah!

The Mekkan pickpockets (girdle-pickers, one should really say, because here money etc. are carried in the girdle) specially pursue the Jâwah. Well-to-do Jâwah, after a short stay usually buy a Mekkan suit which they also wear after returning home as a sign of their *Hajji* dignity. One recognises at a glance the newcomers who have replaced their native apparel by the *jubbah*, *Antari* and Mekkan turban. The street-boys recognise them too, and wait for a favourable moment when the pilgrim turns into an empty street, to creep after him, suddenly tear off the new head-dress and rush off with the booty. Once a Jâwah let himself be talked over by a salesman at the sûq èl-harâdj (odds and ends market) into buying the worn-out turban of a mosque-eunuch. These aghas wear turbans as high as a turret bound round a blue velvet cap, and as distinct from the customary head-dress as an old-fashioned three-cornered hat from our present fashions. Our Malay strode along the street with the agha turban on his head and could not understand why all the way a laughing mob pursued him. Anyone who observes how the Jâwah pilgrims, who till then have seen nothing but rice-fields and coffee-plantations, move through the many-coloured throng of the international Holy City, will scarcely be surprised over the scorn of the Mekkans. If a guide leads them, they follow him in dozens like sheep a bell-wether; those who go for walks alone or in small groups, with their half opened mouths and unsteady steps, look as if they'd lost their reason. Such a wanderer stared with wide-opened eyes at the stall of a melon dealer. Every salesman speaks a few words of Malay: at least he knows the numbers. The fruit seller offered the stranger a melon and said: *lima puluh tîwân*[13] "fifty (*dîwânî*) sir". Despite endless repetition of these words, with the addition of recommendations such as: *bagus, manis* i.e. beautiful,

[13] *lima puluh tuwan*. As is known the Arabs pronounce the Malay p as f, as on the other hand the Malays pronounce the Arabic f as p.

sweet, he did not succeed in extracting a single sound from the astonished creatures. *Boleh tjoba tuwan*, "You can taste (the melon before the purchase) sir" but the Malay continued to disguise his feelings. The salesman took a knife and said *nanti saja (p)fotong* "I'll cut it" hoping at least to get a yes or no. The answer being missing he attributed this to the shyness of the man continuously gazing at the melon, cut it, and put a piece in the half-open mouth of the strange visitor who pulled the oddest faces, chewed, laughed, and . . . went off without a word. Is it surprising that the words sounded after him, "Thou accursed Jâwah! go back to thy *jamban*,[14] Allah curse thy generation". These people walk slowly in the middle of the busiest streets, without taking the least notice of the warning calls of camel drivers or muletiers. "Thy back my uncle! Take care, o (woman) pilgrim!".[15] At length, becoming impatient the people smite them on the back with sticks and cry "Away O Jâwah, O damned one!".[16]

The more reasonable elements of the race, owing to their fewness and retired fashion of life, make less impression on the multitude, only the boorish elements serve to create a public opinion as to the race. The Mekkans often say the Jâwah are *ferûkhah*[17] and they have in mind the clumsiness of these visitors in the streets as also the dishonesty of the afore-mentioned debtors, who despite the bond of bread and salt between them and their creditors, fled without a word of excuse. The non-Malays often enough leave debts unpaid, the manner however in which the Jâwah secretly creep away creates the impression that they do not feel themselves obliged to follow the conventional laws which Mekkan society rigidly exacts from its own members. In general, they make upon the Mekkans, whilst still strange, an impression of naivety; but when they are settled down one never knows whether they will not take it into their heads one fine day to disappear, without troubling themselves much about the curses hurled after them.

---

[14] Latrine.

[15] *ḍahrak jâ ammî, âshî jâ hâjjah!*

[16] *tarîq yâ Ǧâwah yâ mal'ûn!*

[17] Colloquial plural of *farkh*, low fellow. A customary term of abuse with which they are greeted to Mekkan street boys is *snake-eaters âk'lîn èl-ḥanash*. I could not discover the origin of this term, but it must be fairly old as both abusers and abused took it as a matter of course. A purely conjectural explanation was furnished me by a Sundanese: Arab travellers saw how the people ate eels in his home (species called by him *lubang* and *lara*) and as these animals were unknown to them, spread the report in Mekka that the Javanese ate snakes.

Alike the favourable and unfavourable verdicts of the public on the Jâwah represent them as special objects for exploitation, and in fact of all the pilgrims the Jâwah are most thoroughly shorn. The money extorted from the sheikhs by the Government even before the arrival of the pilgrims plays its part, and the ruthless procedure of these leaders has intensified since the new order[18] secures to them control of the pilgrims from a definite district for they have less need to trouble about pleasing their clients. For highly placed or specially independent pilgrims one makes exceptions, but the mass of the pilgrims are distributed like cattle, without the least regard for individual wishes, among the sheikhs who have bought licences.

The shearing of the sheep begins in Jeddah. The slight bleeding to which the pilgrims are subjected on the quarantine island, is followed by a "cure" at the Customs, where all sorts of presents are demanded from them and fines levied. Thus they must pay for a "Turkish passport", give a dollar as voluntary subscription to the waterworks of the Holy City and of its harbour, they must pay boatmen and porters who have carried their baggage to the representative of their sheikh. In this latter's house their welcome is the friendlier the greater the quantity of their luggage and the higher the hopes of subsequent tips to the landlord and his servants. Then, as a beginning they are led to Eve's grave, where apart from the mumbling prayers, incomprehensible to them, and repeated after their guides, they leave a few piastres. But before they don the pilgrim's garb to start for Mekka, often the sheikh or his representatives put them through a strange confession.

Jâwah pilgrims often bring several packets of money with them, each with its own origin and place of destination. In one for instance may be 100 guilders, which a pitiful father from the pilgrim's native place is sending to his son, who is in debt in Mekka; in others a present for a learned man or mystic from a disciple; in most however are sums of 50–150 guilders, left by the faithful who have put off their pilgrimage till after death, to pay for deputies. All such sums of money are called *amânah's* (confidential sendings), but the last named especially *bèdèl hajji* (deputy pilgrim).[19]

---

[18] See page 79.

[19] The Malays often say *badal*: it has been erroneously suggested that the word *amânah* signifies among the Jâwah specially the sendings for deputies for Hajj. The sum as also the deputies paid therefrom are called *bèdèl*.

Usually the pilgrims entrusted with the money purpose to give countryfolk known to them or else good friends the task of deputising. Sometimes the sender has given definite instructions as to the choice of *bèdèl*. One can imagine how the Mekkans lust for the job of bèdèl, for they make the Hajj in any case, and the bèdèl means merely a rich reward. If a sheikh gets control of several bèdèls he appoints in first line his male relatives as deputies and withdraws a percentage as commission: in second line he pays his free servants with other bèdèls, and for the rest, any bèdèls left over he gives to hungry friends, keeping the half of the payment for himself. There is a brisk demand for this easy way of earning money; it is said however that some illegally make the *one* Hajj which they can make per year do for many bèdèls, and it is certain that many sheikhs forget a certain number of the bèdèl entrusted to them.

When the pilgrims have once arrived in Mekka there is always the danger that despite all precautions to prevent intercourse with strangers, they will dispose of the hotly desired bèdèl sums across the fence erected round them by the sheikh. "That would be fine", says the sheikh. "I should pay a high price for the licence, run up all sorts of expenses, satisfy all needs of the pilgrims, and finally get the leavings as my reward whilst others who have done nothing at all run off with the finest morsels!" He cannot imagine anything more unjust, and considers any means permissible to prevent it. Thus he asks everyone of his pilgrims if he has brought bèdèls and how many, urges him to entrust his money to him for safekeeping, for on the way to Mekka Beduin robbers can be encountered and even in the Holy City itself attacks may be made. Against this nothing but whole-hearted confidence in the sheikh could secure one. The protestations of the pilgrims are answered by the sheikh according to circumstances. One may say, the bèdèls have been sent to a person defined by the sender. He will then answer that can be aranged in Mekka. Or the sender cannot judge from the distance who is best to be recommended as deputy pilgrim. He will then promise to do his best to respect the wishes of the individual in regard to the money; but also threatens the weaker minded pilgrims with his ill-will.

In this manner the mutawwif (sheikh) gets control over most of the bèdèl's of his clients, and it requires a more than energetic demeanour, once in Mekka, to snatch anything back again.

Apart from that he also tries to get the other amânahs (presents,

sums for payment of debts etc.) into his keeping, and if business goes well, none of the people to whom the gifts are sent gets his part without the sheikh who mediates getting his percentage. It would not be worth while to describe the various means more exactly; they vary in accordance with the people with whom he has to deal.

Before giving further details as to the exploitations of the Jâwah pilgrims in Mekka mention must be made of an operation to which many must submit in Jeddah. Circumcision, as is well known, is widespread in the Malay Peninsula, even apart from Islam.[20] In some districts, even after conversion, they kept to the older established rites of circumcision, and the accompanying ceremonies often show a mixture of Moslim and Heathen customs. In many cases however the results of the operation (whether from insufficient *circumcisio* or simply *incisio*) do not satisfy the demands of Islam.[21] If such semi-circumcised come to Hajj, they desire to make good what fails before entering on Holy Soil, and thus enable the barbers to earn some money.

In Mekka, the pilgrims, in accordance with their circumstances are quartered by the sheikh in his own house, in empty rooms at his disposal, or in the houses of his friends. So far as concerns board and lodging it will suffice to refer to our 1st Chapter since the Jâwah are not treated differently, in this respect, to other pilgrims. Between the "small pilgrimage" (*'umrah*) made immediately on arrival, and the annual *Hajj*, of which the date is fixed, some pilgrims spend many months, others only a few days. Be this interval long or short, the Mekkans allow the patients not a moment's peace and literally storm them from all sides with their divine wares.

From the numerous types of race with their own varying speeches and customs, which present themselves among the 20 (now, in the year 1930, about 45) million Muhammedans of the East Indies, most are represented at a normally visited Hajj. For that reason the limitation of the activity of the pilgrim guides to the population of one province is not *quite* arbitrary, for anyone who has had

[20] See Dr. G. A. Wilken, „De besnijdenis bij de volken van den Indischen Archipel". Bijdragen van het Koninklijk Nederlandsch-Indisch Instituut, 4de Volgreeks, X. 165 sqq.

[21] In particular, the *glans* should be completely bared.

much business dealing e.g. with Buginese, is, on that account, not specially fitted to deal with Javanese pilgrims.

What applies to the sheikhs, applies also to the others who earn their livelihood by catering for pilgrims. Each has his special knowledge which he can only apply to a special part of the Jâwah.

Nearly all who have dealings with the Jâwah speak a little Malay; for one reason because the linguistic frontiers of this speech are far-flung; but also because in regions where a quite different dialect is spoken, Malay serves the trades people and religious people as *lingua franca* and sometimes as means of education. Apart from the island of Java, the Malay speaking lands such as the major part of Moslim Sumatra, the Malay colonies of Borneo and the Moluccas, are the most important sources of pilgrim-traffic. But in Sumatra, in the Achèh principality in the North, equally with the Lampong districts in the South, the Holy Science is taught in Malay, at least where one has not achieved the height of studying it in Arabic works. A Malay dialect prevails in the province of Batavia and one uses Malay *kitâbs* (books on sacred knowledge). In any caravan of Javanese pilgrims, from whatever part of the Island this may come, there is always someone who can speak Malay. This can be said of most Jâwah pilgrims, whether their mother-tongue be Makasarish, Buginese, Madurese, or one of the less well-known dialects of the eastern part of the island-world. The great spread of elementary knowledge of Malay among the Mekkans thus indicates the prominent position of the Jâwah race in the pilgrim-market. Some words such as *turûs* (from Mal. *tĕrus*) and *bûrûm* (from Mal. *burung*) have developed into colloquialisms among the Mekkans. A *bâbûr turûs*[22] is a steamer which goes direct from Jeddah to Batavia, a *riyâl bûrûm*[23] is a Mexican (bird) dollar. The Malay numbers, and some short phrases, are known to almost every street boy. The salespeople seated in the market know somewhat more. When the evening prayer in the Mosque is over and the faithful gradually troop from the main doors of the *Haram*, one hears the provision merchants in the neighbouring streets continually translating their Arabic cries[24] into Malay; changing their *hârr jâ ʿêsh* "hot bread" into *roti jâ fanas*; their *sukkar jâ habhab* "Sugar, O water-melons!"

---

[22] *tĕrus* means "direct".
[23] *burung* means "bird".
[24] Cf. my "*Mekkanische Sprichwörter*", page 164.

into *manis jâ semangka*. The frequency of these Malay calls in such neighbourhoods, indicates incidentally, what faithful mosque worshippers the *Jâwah* are.

Such superficial knowledge of Malay however does not enable much more than intercourse with the *Jâwah* in the street; for more intimate relations some fluency in the individual's mother tongue is necessary, without which one cannot come close to the pilgrims apart from the use of one of them who speaks Malay, as an interpreter. Indeed, one fails to secure the trust of many *Jâwah* if one can only speak Malay as it is spoken mainly by non-Malays which is described by many Dutch as "popular or vulgar Malay". For instance those Mekkans are particularly well-befriended with the inhabitants of Mid-Sumatra who speak their own peculiar tongue. In reality there is scarcely any speech spoken by any considerable Moslim people of the East Indies, which is not spoken in Mekka by many sheikhs or their assistants, house-owners, *Zemzemis* etc. Those Mekkans are in particular masters of this domain who have lived a long time, for business reasons, in the native land of their pilgrims, and travelled about in this, or who at home have married a woman from those regions. Apart from this many make admirable progress by practical study of languages, the advantage (*fâ'idah*) of which is obvious. Born Mekkans speak Achèh, Lampong, Sundanese, Javanese, Madurese, Makasarese, Buginese, almost as well as their mother-tongue and utilise these as instruments for the furtherance of their studies in practical psychology, which owing to intensifiying competition, becomes more and more essential to the successful exercise of their trade.

In a former Chapter mention was made of the exclusively practical nature of the study of geography in Mekka. The entire external world is divided by these people into more or less productive pilgrim districts. There are Mekkans who know more names of provinces, districts, and towns of the Malay Archipelago than many a Dutch schoolboy, but without knowing in what direction all these regions lie. Anyone who has been in Jeddah knows at least that the Jâwah steamers goe south; anyone who has himself travelled in the *Bilâd el-Jâwah* knows at least the distances separating the various places from one another and from Jeddah. Lately the number of geographical names known in Mekka has greatly increased

owing to the new order attributing a special region, for exploitation, to each Jâwah sheikh.[25] During the preparation of this reform one sometimes heard delightful discussions. A violent dispute developed between the sheikhs of the districts in question, as to whether the province of Kroë in Sumatra belonged to the district of Benkulen or to that of Lampong. The practical background to the geographical dispute was that the sheikh to whom was accorded the Benkulen district as also the one to whom was assigned Lampong, both desired control of the pilgrims from Kroë. In reality, both parties were in the right, for ethnographically, Kroë belongs to Lampong although the Dutch administration has combined it with the Province of Benkulen. The decision between the disputants must however be passed by the head Sheikh who had no idea of the real geographical conditions and must therefore base his arbitrary verdict upon ridiculous arguments.

On another occasion the chief of the sheikh-guild allotted a region from which, almost exclusively, immigrated Buginese came as pilgrims to Mekka, to one sheikh, and later pledged the Buginese from this (non-Buginese) region to another. The first justly complained and said that in that case, only the infidel population of that region would remain to him. The complainant was not influential and the Chief-Sheikh scornfully rejected him with the remark "If it be God's will, they will one day be converted". But after this the sheikhs insisted that in any arrangement with their chief regarding any region, the words should be included "together with the inhabitants of the same" for a dearly bought licence was valueless to them, if for a land without people.

The modern Arabs, no less than the older ones, arabicise the foreign geographical names.[26] Thus *Achèh* is Ashî, *Padang*: Fâdân, *Lampong*: Lâmfûn, *Deli*: Dili, *Langkat*: Lânkat, *Palembang*: Felimbân etc. Whether the names of smaller districts are known in Mekka depends entirely upon the number or personal importance of the Jâwah coming from thence on pilgrimage. Thus the province Rau in Mid-Sumatra is much better known than many others really much more important. The individual people are designated by the *nisbah*-formation (Felimbânî, Fâdânî etc.) or one puts the all em-

[25] Cf. page 79.

[26] From the combination *Pulau Pinang* (the island Penang) they derive, in play upon the Arab word *filfil*, "Pepper", Filfilân.

bracing Jâwah before the name of their land thus Jâwah Funtiâna (folk from Pontianak) J. Sambas, J. Martafura (Martapura) et from Borneo, J. Mandura (Madurese), J. Bôyân[27] from Bawéan) J. Sumbawa (from West Sumbâwa), J. Mekasar (from Makasar). The Buginese are called slightingly Bugis. Jâwah settled in Mekka are often called by their own proper names and the name of their country (without *nisbah*) thus: Abd al-Qâdir Kerintji (from Kĕrintji on Sumatra), Hasan Lâmfûn (from the Lampong district), Ahmed Banten etc. The districts of the really civilised lands are best known, for the others which annually send to Mekka a number of ignorant pilgrims, but never men who will become citizens of Mekka, only arouse interest in the narrow circles, who occupy themselves with fleeting visitors. From this it follows that the various parts of the island of Java are most popularly known. Every province ("residentie") and almost every district of Java is also apart from pilgrimage time the subject of eager conversation. One compares the wealth of the various regencies in pilgrims, the idiosyncrasies (particularly in the matter of generosity) of the inhabitants. One reckons how many Hajjis may be expected in the next year from this or that district. Native and foreign recruiters travel there, and, if lucky, return to Mekka as *kapâla djamâ'at* (guides of a party) with several dozen pilgrims to those who had sent them out.[28] The inhabitants of Java in Mekka are now divided not only according to districts but also into larger classes which each have their special character but which are distinguished mainly by their speech. The people from Batavia speaking a Malay dialect are called Jâwah Betâwî; the inhabitants of West-Java whose customs are simpler, who are more self-conscious and whose Moslim faith is less mixed with the survivals of a past civilisation, are called, in accordance with their Sundanese speech Jâwah Sunda, whilst the genuine Javanese, whose entire life is more or less affected by the traces of the sharply impressed traditions of the brilliant empire of Mataram, bear the strange name of Jâwah Merîkî. *Meriki* is in Javanese "come here!" and the fact that the Mekkans hear this word from a real Javanese

[27] Many pilgrims come annually from these isles; I always heard the name pronounced Bôyân by Javanese as well as Arabs.

[28] Some sheikhs had frightfully bad luck in 1885, whose emissaries returned with good booty, but who were obliged, owing to the new orders put into execution in the meantime, to give over their hardly won pilgrims to a lucky colleague!

mouth whereas other Jâwah use the Malay *mari*! etc. known to every Mekkan, has sufficed to lend to this insignificant word an ethnographical value.

As said, before the Hajj, the Jâwah sheep are shorn by various shearers. Like other guests they are led to the holy birthplaces, and other places of holy memory; to the *Maalâ* cemetery; when the *Kaabah* is open, to this sanctuary, and everywhere they are stormed at by an army of beggars, against whom the guides even in their own interests can only moderately guard them. All this belongs to the common accessories of a pilgrimage with which we need not further concern ourselves, but some measures of exploitation directed particularly against the Jâwah deserve special mention.

Most Jâwah lack in an international gathering of Moslims the necessary self-respect which partly explains the contemptuous treatment they often receive. The Jâwah pilgrims deliver themselves blindly to the leadership of their mutawwifs. Are these not sheikhs in Mekka, the town, the very name of which sounds fabulous to the ears of the Malays? Some Javanese Regents and sons of Malay Princes will kiss the hands of any Arab servant who in his heart despises them for so doing. They do not do this because they think such people morally their superiors, but because their religion seems to them to demand the deepest awe in presence of all on Holy Soil. Only when they have been some time settled in Mekka they learn to abandon this ridiculous self-degradation, but such wisdom brings no advantage to their nation. They start by regarding their own home as a dunghill in comparison with pure, holy Mekka, because the outer forms of life here (in Mekka) bring to mind the Moslim faith; there often the heathen past. At the same time they compare only the shadow side of their native conditions with the light side of Mekka life, and sacrifice without inner strife every patriotic feeling, every inclination to native customs, to the uplifting consciousness of solidarity with the great Moslim Empire. When after longer settlement they mingle and become one with Mekkan society, their verdict on this is indeed much less favourable than at first, but their contempt for their own country is no whit lessened. While formerly they cast up awed glances to the scantily observed Mekka world, now, in proud consciousness of their progress they look down on the "impure" society to which they once belonged. Thus they

have only themselves to thank if the Mekkans do not accept them on really equal terms unless they have managed to slough off nearly every trace of their origin.

Of course the Mekkans manage that the process of washing away the native impurity of the Jâwah does not occur gratis. This is done literally by the Zemzemi's. The Malays make to them not alone the customary sacrifice of founding one or many *dôraqs*,[29] and perhaps a mat for mosque-worshippers, but on payment of a small sum, and at least three times, they are purified from the filth of Malay air and Malay soil by pouring on the Holy Water. This happens first when they come to Mekka, then before the departure to visit the Holy Tomb in Medina, and finally before leaving for home.

A holy place, visited by most pilgrims is the Mount Abû Qebês, the sanctity of which reaches back to heathen times. Like all ancient Arab sanctuaries and fetishes, which Islam has not been able to extirpate, the fantasy of the faithful has equipped Abu Qebês with all sorts of legends which should legitimate pilgrimages to this hill, and these only partially written popular legends are being continually added to. On the northern angle of Abû Qebês there now stands a little mosque in which the visitor is shown a stone formation of the same colour as the celebrated Black Stone,[30] the latter is supposed to have been taken from here or concealed here during the flood. Hence the trace which the pilgrims are urged to kiss, and in the neighbourhood of which is held a ritual prayer of two "divisions". On another somewhat projecting angle of the Mount, Abraham is supposed to have stood as, after finishing the *Kaabah*, with far-ranging voice he called all people to Hajj.[31] Here some beggars provide that a small space is strewn with white sand, the pilgrims enter, say some prayers after their leaders and call aloud the names of their dear friends and relatives at home. If God will, this call on Holy Soil will have the effect that those called upon will once come to Hajj. Finally, on the Mount there is a large roughly rectangular pit masoned into the ground which the learned Qutb ad-dîn, three centuries ago, thus described:[32] "Above on the mountain there is a cistern which people visit as holy. It is however

[29] Cf. above pages 21–22.

[30] Cf. "Verhandlungen der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde", Berlin, Vol. XIV, page 146.

[31] The legend of Abraham's call also serves for the consecration of the "Maqâm Ibrâhîm" stone. See my "Mekkaansche Feest", pages 45–46.

[32] *Chroniken der Stadt Mekka*, ed. Wüstenfeld, III, 443.

not Adam's Grave but a cistern built in ancient times, when there was still a fort on the crest on the mountain, to catch water. The people claim that anyone who on a Saturday eats sheep's head on the Mount Abu Qebês, will remain all his life free from headache, for which reason the people throng to the Mount every Saturday morning, to put this healing into practice".

Since the chronicler wrote thus, the cistern has been declared as the place where Noah's Ark landed, and the cooked sheep's heads are consumed within it: some roughly hewn steps in the wall afford means of climbing into it and on the floor a mat is spread for each party. Not only on Saturdays but on any desired day such meals are provided, but for many years the only participants are the Jâwah. Of course the sheikhs charge a high price for the heads, and eat the greatest part themselves.[33]

As example another custom may be mentioned only followed by the credulous Jâwah. A little north-east of Mekka lies, as is known, the conical Mount Hira, now called "Mount of Light". It has been endeavoured to islamise it from its heathen sanctity by many legends, 1. Muhammed is said there to have had his first vision. 2. The Mount served him as refuge when the enemies were at his heels.[34] 3. It once warned him of the enemy closing on him. A local popular tradition attributes to this place the well-known story that two angels took Muhammed's heart from his body and after washing it in a golden dish put it in place again. The Mount has become a place of resort for most pilgrims, but only among the Jâwah was it possible for the Mekkans to make out of a stupid ceremony of "purifying the heart" a new source of profit. So as to enable the simple people to imitate the Prophet without tearing out their hearts one lays a few dates on the breast and covers the same with an Arab (thin round, flexible) loaf. Then a parasite of the "Mount of Light" cuts the loaf in two and draws out, in the Name of God the Merciful and Compassionate, the dates representing the heart. The prayer spoken thereby is paid for by the bread, dates, and a money present.

---

[33] In the Government Calendar of the Hedjaz for 1303, we read on page 155: Qazwînî relates in his book *The Wonders of Creation* among the qualities of Abû Qebês, that anyone eating there fried sheep's head remains free of headache; there from the desire is roused among many strangers to do this, *particularly among the Jâwah*.

[34] The same is told of the southern Mount Thaur, and some scholars have taken offence at this doubling. *Chroniken der Stadt Mekka*, III: 447.

It should be remarked however that a considerable part of the Jâwah keep away from this game.

Thoroughly to wash away the inborn impurity of the Jâwah requires still an important measure, the alteration of their proper names. That foreigners who settle in Mekka alter their names, unpronouncable to Arab lips, because they wish to retain their *incognito*, or take a new name, is no rarity. The Jâwah however all get new Arabic names in Mekka, whether they come merely on Hajj or mean to stay a longer period. This may partly be due to the native custom, at important periods of life (e.g. on marriage or on entry into a new office) to change the name.[35] The Mekkans have also sucked advantage from this inclination. They have excited among the Jâwah the desire to have the change of names solemnised through a — in some measure sanctified — person, so as to derive therefrom richer blessings, and it is obvious that the new name necessitates a money-present to the name-giver. For a long time, three men in particular have devoted themselves to the naming of the Jâwah: a *Muftî* of the Shafi'ites (anyone who holds this office counts, but among Jâwah in particular, as the highest ecclesiastical authority of the Holy City); an *Imam* of the Mosque, under whose leadership many Jâwah used to learn the true artistic recitation of the fât'hah (first chapter of the Qur'an); and a *Rèyyis* i.e. chief of the mu'addhins, simultaneously astronomer of the Mosque, which official from time immemorial on solemn occasions has been entrusted with the loud chanting of prayer-formulae from the upper storey of the Zemzem building. The successors of that Muftî, the descendants of that Imam and of that Rèyyis (who have only held the surname "Rèyyis") now claim, in like measure, the right to invite Jâwah parties for the solemnisation of their change of names, into their houses. All three give the baptismal certificates in which they confirm with their signatures that Hajji N. N. from locality X for the future will bear the name Z. The Shafi'ite Muftî to lighten the work even has forms printed and has merely to write in the old and new names. The choice of new names depends upon the particular taste of the Jâwah; these, apart from the customary Moslim names (Muhammed, Ahmed, Ali, Hasan, Husein, Abu Bèkr,

[35] Cf. Prof. P. J. Veth, Java, I: 641–2.

Omar, Othmân, ʿAbdallah etc.) have a special *penchant* for the names of celebrated Moslim learned men, from whence one finds innumerable Malays called Shafiʿî, Râfiʿî, Nawawî, Senûsî, Ghazâlî, Sherbînî etc.[36]

When such pilgrims on birth have been given names which belong to their mother-tongue or originally to the Sanskrit, the change has at least the reasonable ground that the Mekkans can afterwards address them by name, and that their names should not, as often happens with natives, give cause for ridicule in Arabic circles. For instance the word Kusûma occurs often in the most fashionable Javanese names, and reminds every Arab of the most vulgar form of abuse in his language (*kuss ummuh* "pudendum matris istius"). But also the numerous Jâwah, who have already received Arabic names from their fathers, receive a new one, and such noble names as Ahmed etc. are transformed into Ghazâlî and the like. The presents work so seductively that recently one has begun to change anew the names of Jâwah already renamed in Mekka, on their visits to the Holy Tomb in Medina. Since the easy distribution of names has been raised into a business, the Government has commanded the new little guild to equip themselves with licenses, without which the trade would be regarded as a form of poaching. There was even a rumour that the authorities would supply printed forms to the three competitors who must then pay a definite sum for every form used.

Once I was paying a visit to the Muftî Ahmed Dahlân when a party of thirteen pilgrims desirous of new names was announced. They came accompanied by their sheikh; the choice among the three competitors is usually determined for the pilgrims by their sheikh, and the one favoured is naturally obliged to pay a commission to the sheikh who leads the pilgrims to him. *Ceteris paribus*, the Muftî has immense advantages, for the Imams Ahmed Faqîh, and Ali Rèyyis, have not much to set against his influence in Mekka and the respect among the Jâwah due to his high office. For that reason the latter promise their agents a much larger part of the booty, sometimes even the half, whereas the Muftî only gives the sheikhs a small present. The thirteen people from Kediri (Java) entered the little room where I sat near the Muftî on the

[36] The Jâwah naturally mispronounce these names in various fashions (Sapingi or Sapi'i, Rapingi or Rapi'i, Nawáwi, Gadjali, Sarbini etc.).

karâwît,[37] and set themselves near the door. One after another they were called upon by the Sheikh to go to the Muftî; creeping as if not daring to raise their eyes to the Divine Majesty, they obeyed the command and kissed the leathery hand of the aged man. The latter took each by the hand, said to him the Moslim confession of faith, which the patient, with trembling voice repeated. "What is thy name?" was then said in Arabic. This question being unintelligible to the pilgrims, the Sheikh answered. So far as the names sounded Javanese, the Muftî wrote them, not entirely without errors, and could scarcely avoid a sile when one said his father had named him *Abd Manâf* (which meant the servant of the old Arabic god Manâf). The Muftî asked if he were not really named *Abd èl-Mannân*, but the answer was vary emphatically in the negative. Of course the Javanese father had sinned in ignorance.

In ten minutes all had been provided with new names and had again taken their places by the door. Man after man however they crawled again to the aged man who had spread out a little cloth before his seat. As they took their leave and kissed his hand, each laid his dollar under the *mèndîl* (handkerchief), and sliding backwards went to the door. With a hypocritical air the Sheikh made as if to follow the pilgrims but was called back by the Muftî.

"I was told that 25 pilgrims had come from Kediri" said the Muftî.

"By God, my Sheikh, that may well be, but then the other 12 have been given to my colleague, N. N. for by God the Great and in the Name of God the Noble! I have only received these 13, otherwise I should have brought them all to thee."[38]

"Well, good, take these", and with this he reached to the Sheikh 2 dollars from the 13 lying under the cloth, "God reward thee with good', and with that the solemnities were over.

If we wish to accompany the average Jâwah on all paths, there now remain to us (apart from the real pilgrimage ceremonies and the daily circuits around the Kaabah and ritual prayers in the mosque, made as numerous as possible) about three worthy of mention. Whereas the measures described are taken by nearly all Hajji's, only those have time for the occupations now to be described who

[37] Cf. above page 32.

[38] Wallâhi 'l-ʿazîm wabillâhi 'l-karîm, a very customary form of oath in Mekka.

either enter Mekka shortly before or shortly after Ramadhan, or who remain some weeks in Mekka after the Hajj. We will first speak of those Jâwah who settle for a longer period.

Some, who weeks before the Hajj dwell in Mekka under guidance of a pious sheikh of pilgrims are instructed by the sheikh himself (particularly if the pilgrims are his countryfolk), or by a competent compatriot under his orders, in the rules of the Sacred Law regarding the pilgrimage. For that purpose a manâsik-book, written in Malay or other language according to the individual[39] is used. We must not forget that by far the greater number of pilgrims to the Holy Land come without any idea as to the ceremonies which comprise the Great and Little Pilgrimages. Many in fact return home, as Hajji's, as wise as before.[40] In fairly large throngs they are urged day after day through the town, from one holy place to another, the ceremonies are very carefully rehearsed to them; the repetition of the prayer formulae is less conscientious, as the strangers in any case understand almost nothing of them. Who could have time to explain the meaning of the various arrangements, even in a fleeting manner, to an individual in those restless weeks? Whence shall the Jâwah learn that the visits to innumerable cupolas and memorial houses, the entry into the Kaabah, the sprinkling with Zemzem-water etc. do not at all belong to the obligatory pilgrimage? In any case his guide will not tell him this, for then there would be less participation in the wearisome walks, and the takings by the guide's friends and also those of the guide himself would sustain damage. Many a pilgrim retains from the day's exertions but a very confused memory in which horrible crowds, crushing and shouting, heat and thirst play a considerable part. He takes the word of his sheikh for it that everything done is in order but demands from him no detailed description. For this reason, Hajji examinations, such as were formerly held in the Dutch-Indies by Government officials are quite useless. Those sheikhs are very conscientious who beforehand enable their pilgrims to comprehend the ceremonies to be passed through, as parts of a ritualistic whole. To such Jâwah, who have already arrived long before the Ramadhan their instructed

---

[39] Cf. Above page 211.

[40] Thus Burckhardt who had done the "little" pilgrimage, describes this quite inaccurately, as if the preparation for this were the principal thing, and he and Burton both declare the chief part of the Hajj to be a sermon, which is not actually delivered.

countryfolk, settled in Mekka, give instruction in the Law of the Fast.

The second spiritual gain for which many Jâwah use a short stay in Mekka, is the improvement of their Qur'an-recitation. For Malay lips the recitation according to the rules of the art is extraordinarily difficult — to which must be added that in many Jâwah lands there is a lack of qualified teachers. In the course of a few weeks one cannot of course make much progress, but one can learn at least how to recite the fâthah (1st Surah) — repeated in every ritual prayer several times — fairly well under leadership. Teachers are paid for instruction in the qirâyah (recitation) all over the Moslim world. The authorities on the Law say expressly that one may teach the Qur'an or recite it (i.e. on solemn occasions) for money and such an occupation is much to be commended. For that reason Qur'an-teachers take no holiday so long as there is anything to be earned and some *fáqîh's* in Mekka are really specialists in the training of the Jâwah pilgrims who remain some time before or after the Hajj.

Those who have much time or specially favourable opportunities learn either an entire *juz'* (1/30th of the Qur'an) or at least many short Surahs; otherwise they devote about an hour every morning to learning the fât'hah, until they can recite this to the satisfaction of their Arab teacher. Among these teachers' Ahmed Fáqîh, the Imam mentioned above[41] enjoys the greatest reputation. For him it is very advantageous when as sometimes happens older pupils give up after the first Surah, as he thus gains time to chant to new pupils, and most presents are given in the beginning of the teaching period.

Finally, many report themselves to a mystic sheikh so as to be included in the shortest possible time in his *tarîqah* (order).[42] Naturally the initiation in such cases is limited to externals, the dhikr's wirds, many exercises in common and a few *tawâjuh's* (têtê à tête interviews) with the sheikh, in short, as much of the educational methods described in the former chapter as seems necessary, to prepare the people for the oath of obedience. The above mentioned[43] Sheikh, Khalîl Pasha (who comes from Daghestan)

[41] Page 236.
[42] Cf. pages 204–5.
[43] Page 176.

and Suleiman Efendi, as also another Khalîl (Efendi) have numerous *murîds* throughout the Malay Archipelago. In part these have enjoyed the instruction of one of these three sheikhs themselves, the others who did not come to Hajj have been taken up by the Khalîfahs (representatives), whom every sheikh has appointed in the East Indies. Particularly in Sumatra, West Java, and South Borneo the three sections of the Naqschibandî brotherhood, divided only into branches in the persons of the sheikhs settled in Mekka, are flourishing, but farther East and South there live many scattered brothers, and this *tarîqah* is said to be also developing an active life in the English Straits Settlements.

Here are gathered many elements either banished from Dutch possessions or who cannot enter these owing to the restrictive laws against the immigration of foreign Orientals; many sailing from Mekka to the East Indies make a break in their journey here. These points are of great significance to the religious movement in the East Indies, and that it is not merely a matter of abstract religious teaching the unhappy Achèh war must serve to teach us.

Many Jâwah desirous of mystic blessings, particularly the Javanese prefer, even in the Holy City, to turn rather to a countryman, who can serve them as a leader on the road to Allah. Suleiman and Khalîl, have both indeed many assistants who came from the Jâwah lands, and a goodly part of the teaching is left in their hands, but the Jâwah only feel themselves thoroughly comfortable in a brotherhood whose chief speaks to them in their mother-tongue. We shall see lower that this requirement is entirely fulfilled by the Jâwah colony in Mekka.

The great annual pilgrimage, the Hajj, lasts only about six days. The journey from Mekka to Muna (± 2 hours) and from there to Arafat (± 4 hours) regard being had to Arab conditions is made comfortable enough to the pilgrims; the confused coming and going of small and large caravans, and the unaccustomed pilgrim garb make the whole however fairly trying to newcomers. Of course the Jâwah must pay high for the camels which take them and their necessary baggage to the Holy Valley and the Holy Plain, for the use of a part of the tent brought by their guide and for the meals consumed in Arafat and Muna. Apart from this they are urged to slaughter as many sheep as possible. One explains to them that not only can

one make the Hajj sacrifice (*qurbân*) in Muna, and expiate any trespass of the law of the pilgrimage by new sacrifices, but that one also acquires great merit if one slaughters on Holy Soil, on behalf of oneself and one's relatives the *'aqîqah*-sacrifice[44] — probably neglected. It has gradually developed into a custom to demand from the Jâwah a sum of money for *qurbân* and for *'aqîqah*, without later on keeping an exact count how many sheep are sacrificed in the name of each pilgrim. The skins of the Muna-sacrifices, large in number in any case, and which according to Holy Law must not be sold, nevertheless form an article of export to Europe. We may pass over many other little means of extortion to which, during the great pilgrimage assemblies, the Jâwah like other pilgrims are exposed.

What precedes may suffice to enable *cautious* readers to form a judgment on the significance of the Hajj to the religious life of the East-Indies, *insofar as the fleeting visitors to Mekka who come only for the Hajj are concerned*. One must guard against the too-common tendency to generalise. This art is known to our "experts" on conditions in the East Indies, as well as to anybody. One hears from one Resident who has often come into unpleasant contact with the Hajjis that the Hajjis are the plague of native society; they encourage the natives to resistance, sow fanaticism and hatred of Europeans, etc. Another, whom chance has brought into contact with docile Hajjis, and whom they have served as very useful "boys", replies that all this is the invention of clumsy colleagues, for anyone who knows how to deal with Hajjis (like the speaker) learns to know them as sober, orderly people. All start from the fallacious hypothesis that the Hajjis have, as such, a special character.

Readers, ignorant of the conditions in the Dutch East Indies may marvel at this mistake on the part of the government official, it has however an easily comprehensible groundwork.

Various causes have brought it about that in that Archipelago the Hajji-title has a more sonorous ring than is perhaps the case in any other part of the world; the great distance from Arabia, which before the time of the steamship imposed many hindrances upon the pilgrimage, the late conversion of the Jâwah lands to Islam, on account of which in the interior parts of the country, the knowledge and practise of the rules of the Law were very scanty, so that

[44] See above p. 110.

anyone who had been only a short time in a centre of Moslim civilisation was accepted as an authority; the custom of most Jâwah pilgrims after return home, by copying the Arab dress, to distinguish themselves from their countryfolk, and mostly, to fulfil the ritualistic elements of their Religion more faithfully than the mass of people of humble station; these and similar conditions, have raised the Hajjis, particularly in Java but also in other islands, to a class distinguished from the rest of the population. They lived, and partially live yet at the cost of their countryfolk who have not set foot on Holy Soil; the superstitious people lay great worth on amulets prepared by them, and often believe that a Hajji must necessarily have brought back from Mekka many "*elmu's*" (*'ilm*, in the sense of secret art).

The great difference between those who have only made the Hajj and its customary accessories, and those whom a stay of years in Mekka has made participants in the Arabic-Muhammedan civilisation, is not apparent to Jâwah of the interior provinces. From all of which it is easily comprehensible that the Government officials, who always gain only a superficial knowledge of the religious life of the natives, have regarded the hajji's as a sort of clergy, and as formerly many Jâwah were suspected of using the Hajji-title without justification, this mistake led the Government to the foolish error of the pilgrim-examinations, which in any case, for reasons cited above, could do nothing to avert the misuse of the title.

It is evident that the enormous development in the number of pilgrims during the last decade must in the long run affect the prestige of the hajji's. This effect has already been so remarkably apparent that many officials have rejoiced thereat, and anticipate from the farther increase of the traffic that the detested *hajji* influence will be pushed aside. If, now, the Arab dress were to be forbidden by the Government,[45] it is said, farther measures could be quietly left to the passage of time. All similar false conclusions can be traced back to the false premiss that the influence, which from Mekka as Moslim centre, is spread over Indonesia, simply or principally, is a matter which affects only the mass of pilgrim-cattle. Justly to appreciate the significance of Moslim life in the East Indies requires a deeper study than one for which the position

[45] This would in some measure be a justifiable consequences as the Government demands from all inhabitants of the East Indies that they should wear their national dress; but the garb of the West-Arab towns is now officially acknowledged as uniform of the hajji's.

of Government official gives opportunity: particularly the, up to the present almost unknown conditions of the Jâwah colony in Mekka must be taken into account.

To deny all importance in the lives of their peoples to the thousands of hajji's in the Dutch East-Indies would only be to go from one extreme of exaggeration such as is opposed by us into another.

Although many hundreds of the pilgrims annually returning from Mekka bring only a vague notion of the Hajj ceremonies from the journey, not even the most stupid come back from Mekka without a deep impression of the hitherto unknown world. The politico-religious might of Islam hitherto known to them only from popular legends about the grey *early times* and from fairy-like visions as to the *end time*, has proclaimed itself as a living reality. At home they had heard of the great Sultan of Rûm (Constantinople) to whom the six infidel sultans must submit and pay tribute, but they noted in life not the least sign of his All-Power. Their country folk, settled in Mekka, even after having become worldly-wise still retain those *naive* impressions of European conditions. They learn indeed that in reality there are more than six infidel sultans, and that there is sometimes something lacking in regard to submission towards the chief Moslim sultan, but they still remain under the impression that an infidel Power only gained significance by being represented in Constantinople.[46] They thus strengthen their compatriots, who come as pilgrims, in their first amazement at the actual greatness of Islam. No less than at home there are soldiers here but such as perform the *salât* (ritual prayer). To obey the officials of the local government is often directly contrary to the wishes of the population, but here they are Moslims and fear Allah. All around, in the streets and in the mosques, there functions an authority led by Allah's will; the illustrious power of the Government however displays itself much more brilliantly in Constantinople than in Mekka and a few widely travelled Jâwah

[46] If a hitherto little known Power is spoken of in Mekkan circles (as for example Italy with regard to her Red Sea settlements) it is said: *wassalû Istanbûl* "They have come to Constantinople" i.e. they have an embassy at the court of the Sultan of the World. The Mekkans often say of the Chinese they are not really an empire for: *mâ wasalû Istambûl*, they have not yet reached Constantinople.

PILGRIMS FROM ACHÈH WITH TWO "WAKÎLS"

can report over what they have superficially seen. Yes, Mekka is the spiritual, Constantinople the material centre of the world, and in respect of looking towards both these centres, all faithful Jâwah form a whole.

On the sea-voyage, and still more in Mekka Jâwah pilgrims come together from the most remote parts of the Archipelago: their exchange of ideas acquires a deeper significance because their countryfolk, settled in Mekka, give them a certain definite lead. In a very mixed Jâwah society, one Javanese settled in Mekka will enquire of the Achèhnese present, as to the progress of events in their home. The answer runs that they have nearly driven out the accursed Dutch, and one day will surely have done with them. One Javanese grown grey in Government service and pensioned considers the attitude of the Achèh is unreasonable. "Europeans must govern us, that is God's will; why drive out the Dutch, throw away blood and money, finally to get instead of Dutch, English masters". The Achèhnese answers scornfully, such cowardice on the part of the Javanese increases the arrogance of the kafirs: the Achèhnese fight on the side of God, and despite the devilish war-machines of the Christians they have sent thousands of them to Hell.

"Just as the Sudanese are doing to the English", adds a Jâwah settled in Mekka.

"Hark", exclaims an Achèhnese, "what undeniable miracles Allah works for our aid. In Kemâla, by our sultan, there is living a boy who has on his chest a second face, similar to that on his head. Whenever something is to be undertaken against the Dutch, one asks counsel of the second face; if it opens its eyes and calls: '*mansûr*' ("victorious!") one is certain of victory, but if it closes its eyes, one stays at home, for no good will come from the enterprise". A second can tell of even bigger things. "As is known there are some Dutch[47] who accept the true religion and come over to us. If the enemy capture them they hang them, and turn — to the contempt of Islam — the martyrs' backs towards the *Qiblah*. Once a very pious Dutchman was thus captured and condemned to death. None of us knew on what day he was to be hanged, but as our Sheikh Saman di Tiro one day found himself continually weeping without knowing the cause of his tears, he guessed that Dutchman was now meeting a martyr's death. Later his presentiment

[47] Deserters from Dutch colonial troops.

proved to be right. Allah had wrought the following miracle at the execution. As the officers laughingly put the hind-parts of the martyr to the Qiblah, there suddenly came a gust of wind which turned the corpse round and put its face towards Mekka. The infidel officers cried in terror, *subḥâna'llâh*!"

"At our place also", said a man from Palembang, "the government official has become suspicious. Just think of this. Lately it came to the Resident's ears that the Law of Islam was taught in the mosque from a book called *Sabîl-al*. This as is known is the Malay book *Sabîl al-muhtadîn* ("The path for those who wish to be guided") in which the Sacred Law is explained in the usual way. The Dutchman, knowing that *prang sabil* means Holy War was stupid enough to believe that war against the Dutch was being preached publicly and had the innocent book confiscated. Since then the officials do as much as possible to oppose the preaching in the mosques, but we devote ourselves to the religion the more energetically for that. If God will, the fears of the Resident will one day be substantiated".

Answering the boastful report of an Achèhnese that his countryfolk, in one battle, had slaughtered 17000 Dutch, the Javanese official said that he knew for a certainty that there were not nearly as many Dutch in Achèh. "Wert thou ever in Achèh?" was the contemptuous answer, and the awed faces of all the Jâwah present, not excepting the official's own countryfolk warned him that his worldly-wise remarks were here out of place.

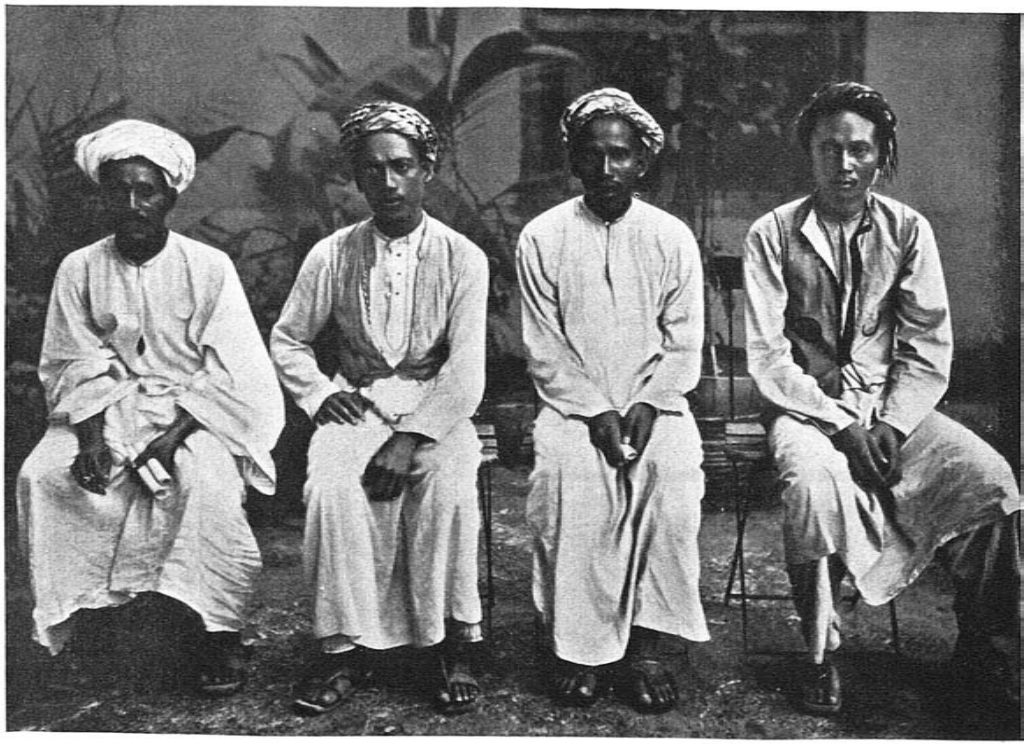
I could go on almost indefinitely if I wanted to give all conversations similar to the one given above to which I found opportunity to listen whilst in Mekka, and in which above all it was the *pilgrims* from Jâwah lands (i.e. not those *settled* in Mekka) who exchanged their opinions. These conversations were for me less delightful than instructive. If one has never had intercourse with natives upon a footing of entire equality, so that they have no idea that a *European* ear drinks in their words, one always sticks to certain illusions, believes that certain aspects of European civilisation are sympathetic to the people or at least impressive to them. All fraud and sham! Whether the Jâwah are making to speak a government official, a merchant or a soldier, they are all caricatures which they hold forth because the Europeans reflect too little that also the "natives" receive and spread about impressions, and thus show them unreservedly the worst and most stupid sides of their personalities.

In simple, practical knowledge of human nature the average Jâwah are far superior to the Europeans. A Malay, who has had intercourse for some time with a European touches him innumerable times with his fine feelers and conducts himself according to the result of such experiments. If he has reached his object, he thoroughly exploits his "friend's" weak points but always remains conscious that he cannot fathom the being of a European, for he lacks too many *data* and his acquaintance shows to him too many contradictory traits of character. I have never heard a Jâwah claim to know and understand the Europeans. They themselves veil their real thoughts and feelings so skilfully from the European "friend", show themselves always so equable and natural, that the "friend" might gradually believe to have seen into the very heart of the "native" whereas he has seen nothing but the heart's covering. But in nothing are the Jâwah so secretive to Europeans as in everything which deals with religion, because as soon as they touch upon this, they meet from their white "friends" nothing but ignorance, scorn and disbelief. Anyone who questions them on this point, whether from curiosity or affected interest, shows from the form and manner of the question, that he doesn't even know the A.B.C. of the matter, and forces the courteous questioned one, to put him off with evasive jargon. Others, having received but misunderstood a serious answer, make thereon such comments as to cause the speaker firmly to close his mouth, because he remembers that the conversation has reached a territory upon which there can be no community in thought. Finally, and unfortunately, there are not lacking fools who do not spare the natives the last phase of their "enlightenment", and explain to them that according to the latest discoveries of Science, there is no God. A simple Imâm from the Moluccas told me that the highest government official of his homeland "without even being drunk" explained to him this wisdom. He could conceive that people might *exist* capable of closing their eyes to the obvious evidence of the existence of God (apart from the Revelations) but for a Government to entrust such people with important functions! Our Moslim would have got on better with a fanatical Christian, for he knew indeed that there were other creeds beside his own, but that particular official had given himself a certificate of madness!

Almost every feature which I might add to my "Description of the Europeans by the Jâwah in Mekka" would sketch some new

shadowside of the Dutch living in the East Indies in more or less exaggerated colours. I renounce further details not on that account however, but because it would take too much room. In itself every detail of that one-sided race-judgment would be instructive to us and should we colour in shame at the truth hidden here and there in the caricature, we can console ourselves with the thought that the pictures of French, English and Russians drawn in Mekka by the Moslims whom they rule over are not more flattering than those of the Dutch drawn by the Jâwah.

In all these representations sound observation is mixed up with misunderstanding, but it is everywhere to be observed that the Europeans are themselves largely responsible for this last. Principally because in England the finest politico-colonial programmes are put forward, and because many English claim that their rule in India depends upon the sympathy of the subjected peoples, one is struck by the fact that in Mekka one hears nothing from the lips of Indian Moslims but words of most bitter hatred against the Inglîz. Between theory and practice there is a vast enough gult also with us, but despite that, a few Jâwah (particularly those living in official circles) speak of our government in the sense that they accept it with indifference, and I even heard a Malay from Pontianak (Borneo), much to the annoyance of the Mekkans present, speak formally in defence of the Dutch Government. In the Dutch bayonets hadn't guarded us, he said, the Chinese would long since have driven us away. Our infidel officials are juster than the Turks and "a kingdom is ruined more by tyranny than by lack of faith". Frankly, this is the only testimonial of that particular sort which I ever heard; on the other hand the Indians heaped nothing but curses on their lords. It was clearly to be seen from the conversation of the Indians, that not alone race-antipathy and religious fanaticism but the contemptuous and insulting attitude of most of the English to the "*natives*" gave rise to hate. The Russian "knout" cuts a much better figure in comparison. The Russian Might impressed the Central-Asiatics, and many regarded its workings as part of the unfathomable Divine Will. The theocratic constitution seemed to the Moslims reasonable; and the full acknowledgment of their religious rights as a beneficence. Despite the fanaticism engendered against the "Moskôf" through the last war, which in Mekka in



PILGRIMS FROM PONTIANAK (BORNEO)

particular was expressed in a hateful manner, one heard no European government spoken of more favourably than the Russian so soon as the discussion passed from theoretical religious hatred to the details of administration. When however Algerians spoke about France one heard in every word the contempt of the Moslim for a republican constitution. An empire of the insane, they declared. Some few can narrate of the manyheaded Parliament which theoretically governs and has its seat in Paris, the Paradise of the Infidel; how there, with rough words and occasional revolver shots, discussion is held over the highest interests of the State, and decisions taken. No surroundings were better calculated than the Mekkan to convert all Frenchmen into monarchists.

But let us return to our Jâwah. We now know the religious and political influences brought to bear on them during Hajj. Of course these do not affect all Jâwah in like measure. Some are more, some less fanatical or pious. Those who at home have studied in the *pesantrèns, soeraus, mandarsah's* (institutions for the religious instruction of native Moslims) or in the mosques are most open to Pan-Islamic influences. Among the vast, untaught masses of Hajji's there are always a few who draw from the pilgrimage the seeds of raw fanaticism. In general the things of greatest significance are: the initiation of the pilgrims into the mystic societies which takes place on an ever-increasing scale — for the moment indeed somewhat superficially: the active intercourse with fellow-pilgrims from the entire Archipelago and with Jâwah settled in Mekka, and the impression which develops from this exchange of thought, as to the might, defying all unbelievers, which Islam seems to spread from its spiritual centre; finally the fact that many pilgrims first become habituated in Mekka to their daily ritual duties, and return home as well disciplined faithful.

All this is usually left out of count when one speaks of the position of the hajji's in the East-Indies; one thinks usually only of the distinguishing garb, and the (gradually diminishing) respect shown by the people to the returned wanderers. Neither in the pilgrimage in itself nor in the Arab garb are to be sought the currents from Mekka emanating via the hajji's to the East-Indies, but in the other things mentioned, lying about and around the yearly Arab Feast, with which most pilgrims come into contact.

For that reason one cannot warn sharply enough *not* to have a prohibition of the Arab garb: it would have no other effect than to sharpen fanaticism. Also by the increase in the numbers of pilgrims will no evil be remedied; at most the population will then be less exploited by the hajji's but there rises the question who in this regard will step into the hajji's shoes? For as long as the population, from lack of education, cannot protect itself against such attempts at exploitation, no grandmotherly benevolence will help and there will always arise a new tribe of exploiters.

Much more important than the thousands of pilgrims who return home after the Hajj are the hundreds or even only dozens who remain in Mekka and join the Jâwah colony and perhaps later have children who belong from birth upwards to Mekkan society. As, earlier, we traced the popular judgment of the Mekkans upon the Jâwah to its source, we saw that in late years all Jâwah who remain in the Holy City, no longer do so from pure piety. Many young people use the *mengadji* (study) principally as a pretence to loaf pleasantly through the years, for such time as their relatives will send money or their creditors will have patience. Further, there not only travel annually many young men to wait upon wealthier country-folk but there are also those who come as servants of hajji's and who have been dissuaded from return by Jâwah settled in Mekka, and who have gone over into their service. Such servants, among whom is to be counted every age from eight to thirty, could not devote more than a few hours daily to their religious instruction: others find even this time too long as they wish to devote themselves to worldly pleasures. By the lack of education of the one, and of inclination of the others that is not enough for real study: they thus limit themselves to the study of the divine music of Qur'an recitals. This instruction they seldom take with their country-folk since it is particularly a matter of getting a pure Arabic accent.

The same *faqîhs*, whose acquaintance we have already[48] made as teachers of the Jâwah pilgrims, and many others daily receive a few Jâwah at various times and let them repeat their tasks. Among these Qur'an teachers to Jâwah settled in Mekka, a Sheikh Muhammed Mènschâwî, who apart from that was a professor in the *Haram*, was in 1885 specially prominent. The young Jâwah made

[48] Sup. p. 240.

every disposable hour of the Mènschâwî, the subject of a regular row. The Qur'an pupils visit the teacher just when they have time. If they miss him once or are held up for any reason that needs no excuse. They pay him one or two guilders per month and give him little presents on feast days. Many Jâwah, also those who devote themselves entirely to study remain loyal to the *fáqîh* ten to twelve years, and practice continually when not otherwise engaged.

In general, religion does not have much effect on either of the two last mentioned classes of Jâwah settled in Mekka (the servants and the lazy ones); they soon follow the lax practice of many Mekkans and even avoid the daily ritual prayers in the Mosque because "repletion" is felt also by them.[49] They enter often in the *tarîqahs* however; if they are satisfied with a place on the extreme fringe of the brethren's circle, no very severe duties are laid upon them and this minimal exertion arouses in them the consciousness that they have done something fine, while the regular use of the rosary and the droning of the *wirds* raises their prestige in the eyes of their countryfolk. For some, even this is too much trouble, and I, heard them declining to join a brotherhood, giving as their reason that they were already so behind hand in their religious duties, and if now through the bond with the Sheikh of an order they took up new duties they needlessly ran danger of increasing the number of their sins.

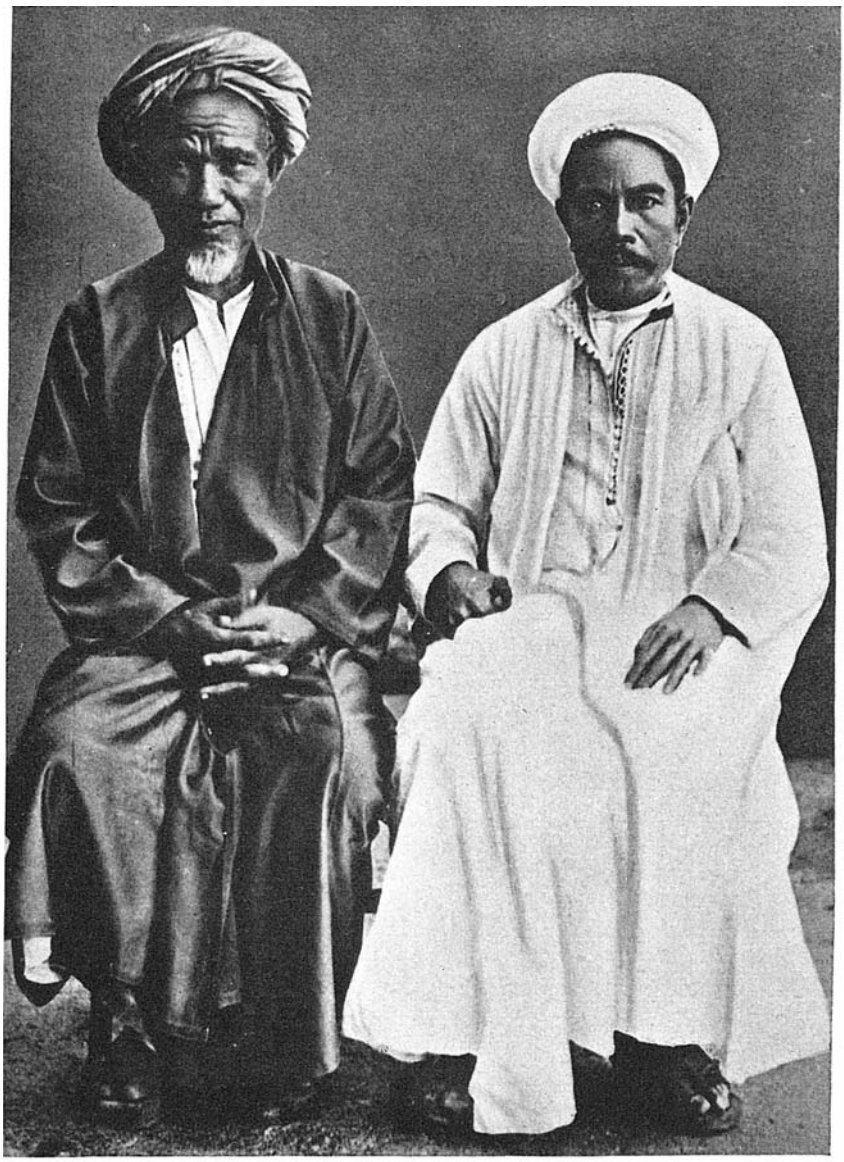
The principal attraction to these people is the joyous life led by the Mekkans during the quiet times of the year; they are never tired of taking part in holiday festivals, marriage-feasts and other family festivals, and the hospitality of the Mekkan middle-classes as well as the *penchant* even of learned and pious Jâwah for festivities offers them for these almost daily opportunity. I have repeatedly rewarded Malays, who were heavily indebted in Mekka, with presents of 10–20 dollars for services done; the result, almost without exception, was that in the next days, they held feasts to which I and several Jâwah were invited and the cost of which far exceeded my gift. Every demand to put their financial affairs in order passes over these people's heads; they only feel the burden of the debts, steadily mounting through usurious interest, at the

[49] Cf. Sup. 26.

moment when the creditors threaten them. Otherwise they laugh, even when they have nothing to eat, and exclaim: "I trust to God for my livelihood!".

For joyous life however one must have women. There are always "Mekkan women", particularly those of Egyptian origin, prepared to put their charms at a Jâwah's disposal, till they have sucked him dry. In the Jâwah colony one tells the following anecdote, which describe the matter very truly. A one-eyed Jâwah as ugly as sin came with his 2000 dollars to Mekka, and rented a little house for a long stay. Soon a good "friend" made his appearance, and told him, to his surprise, that a beautiful Egyptian woman living in the neighbourhood had fallen desperately in love with him, and wished at any price to be his wife. She willingly offered him the opportunity to make her acquaintance beforehand. The Jâwah saw in this a rare sign of Allah's grace, and went to his fair one who entirely fulfilled his expectations; in a few days he was a happy husband. The fashionable, charming woman met him every time he returned from the Mosque, smilingly kissed his band, welcomed "her lord" and caressed him. Suffice it to say that the husband thought himself in Paradise. For herself the wife asked nothing but counter-love and the most simple food and drink; only she did not conceal from her husband her sorrow at the pitiful position of her dear mother who indeed lacked even the most necessary clothes. This lack the husband of course immediately remedied and thus dried the tears of the devoted daughter.

In the course of a few weeks, however, there were always new sources of sorrow for the wife apparently on account of her sisters, aunts and nieces; what particularly aroused her care was the thought that it might bring her good husband into disrepute if he allowed women related to him to live in so miserable a plight. The Jâwah had passed so fully into the woman's power that he invariably agreed to her wishes without heeding the gradual emptying of his purse. Finally out of 2000 dollars there remained only a few piastres. One day as he entered into the living room it struck him that his wife did not as usual come to meet him; on the contrary she behaved as if she did not notice him. Perhaps she is ill, he said to himself, and went to her to caress her. Not without resistance the fair one let herself be drawn on to the knee of the dupe, and glanced up to him with loveless eyes: "My lord! what is that? Ah! Thou hast only *one* eye! And what scars are on thy brow!"



PILGRIMS FROM MOKO-MOKO (SUMATRA)

Then all at once a clear light dawned upon the befooled Jâwah. "Thou daughter of a dog! Thrice *ṭalâq* (divorce) over thee!" he exclaimed to the great satisfaction of the lady, who three months later could play the same game with another Jâwah.

Although this warning example is often told, this does not hinder that newcomers annually fall into the trap. Cautious young Jâwah take advice from friends and seek a comely wife with moderate aspirations. Such women, whilst in the prime of life, easily find, however, better parties than the Malays, who desire to live cheaply. These must therefore be satisfied with the stock "left over", and marry women eager to gain a bread-winner at the earliest opportunity.

Thus, by means of the matrimonial agents, there arise the most unlikely connections, sixteen year old Javanese marry Mekkan women of thirty and upwards, who might be their mothers, and occasionally procreate children with them. Sometimes both spend together their last farthing, run up debts, and in the end it is not seldom, that the Jâwah runs home abandoning his wife and child. Such children, by birth and education, belong to the Mekka *canaille* unless a lucky chance rouses for them the compassion of a well-to-do Jâwah. The influence exercised by this kind of Jâwah in Mekka, or upon their return on their countryfolk, cannot be estimated from any one particular standpoint, but is in no case wholesome. Many pilgrim-sheikhs originate from these circles who in direct want buy a licence with borrowed money in the hope of getting back capital and interest from their countryfolk, or whose ambition renders the sheikh title desirable.[50] Some sink ever deeper and deeper. Others, specially those who have started free from debt or who have good connectio ns at home, do good business although the lack of regular administration and the epidemic of credit-contracts always causes considerable fluctuations in their financial circumstances.

The sheikhs and assistant-sheikhs, coming from Jâwah lands, in many cases, travel every few years backwards and forwards, sometimes on real business, sometimes personally to encourage their relatives to generosity, or in the backward regions to engrave their scanty science or superficial connection with a *tarîqah* into sounding coin.

Pensioned officials, landed proprietors, and other well-to-do people or such who receive from their relatives a more or less definite

[50] Cf. above p. 223.

stipendium, choose Mekka as a second home, to lead a quiet life devoted only to religion. Although these attend the ritual prayers in the Mosque with strictest devotion and make as many "great" and "little" pilgrimages as possible, listen "for the sake of the blessing" to lectures of which they understand but little, or become "brothers" of orders, their importance to the public depends primarily upon the money they spend; a large part of which goes to the Jâwah colony. Their influence upon the spiritual life of others is also very indirect.

The very kernel of the Jâwah colony are the teachers and students. In Mekka they are the ones most highly regarded; from their countryfolk on pilgrimage they enjoy the deepest awe, and from Mekka they control the religious life of their homes. Almost all Jâwah who teach in the Holy City have risen to this height in Mekka herself. There are indeed in the East-Indian Archipelago opportunities for thorough Islamic studies, but no Jâwah would dare to come to Mekka otherwise than as a pupil. The careers of these learned men thus form a very important part of the history of the Jâwah colony, and are highly characteristic of it, for many of their countryfolk sitting at their feet glance up at the position which they have reached as the highest aim of their endeavours.

The conditions under which the Jâwah start their scientific career in Mekka vary considerably. Regents and petty princes send one of their many sons to Mekka so that he may devote his life to the Holy Science in the name of the whole family. They recommend him to the care of pious friends settled in Mekka and send him annually the means necessary. The lower official circles also send similar additions to the student body in Mekka. Young Jâwah, who have come to the City as servants, sometimes show special capacity for study, and good friends then help them to meet the cares of life. There are even boys and youths who wander to Mekka from the East-Indian Archipelago with little means other than a trust in Allah, and with no other object than toilsomely to conquer Arab learning. With many of these there is at first merely a naive eagerness for the mysterious heights, which only later attains the definite form of conscious endeavour. Others have already passed a considerable stretch on the way of learning at home, and with them the desire for travel has awakened later, as they felt the

inadequacy of the means of tuition at home, and heard the stories of students returning from Mekka, as to the spiritual wealth there at the disposal of all and everyone.

When, indeed, they show a will for earnest endeavour, help is given to cover their material wants in many ways. They consider themselves extremely happy when a distinguished Arab scholar takes them in his house as body-servants.[51] Otherwise they easily find board and lodging with a Malay scholar, and in both cases they have excellent opportunities for study. Apart from these there are many waqf-houses in Mekka for neighbours of Allah, each belonging to a special branch of the Jâwah peoples. Among those best known are some commodious ones for Achèh, a few for people from Banten, and some for Malays from Pontianak (Borneo). Such foundations are partly founded by a great gentleman whilst making the Hajj and later supported at his cost and managed by some one whom he has appointed; so e.g. the houses built by the Sultan of Pontianak for his countryfolk, the building of which he commanded a few years ago whilst on pilgrimage. Other waqf-houses are built from sums collected by a Sheikh from the pilgrims "led" by him and their countryfolk, with the secondary object of, as manager of the waqf, being able to dispose of the best rooms for himself and his friends. In this manner a very fine waqf-building was produced for the Achèh, not far from my own house by the "Night Market" (*Sûq èl-Lêl*).[52] A pilgrim sheikh who specially exploited the hajji's from Achèh, for years begged his clients for small sums to build this house, travelled himself to Achèh to make further collections, returned from thence with good booty, and now manages the foundation as if it were his property. The first storey he lived in himself, his son-in-law in a part of the second, and in many small rooms lived poorer Achèhnese who indeed were supported from part of the fund remaining to the Sheikh, but who must render him, in exchange, all sorts of service. Further he made no bones about allowing non-Achèh to use some of the many rooms

[51] Cf. above p. 220, and below the career of Abd ès-Shakûr from Surabaya.

[52] The explanation of this name which is now circulated in Mekka is another example of the local legends continually being formed. Although the Chronicles of the town disclose that the name "Night Market" for this part, was first used in later Islamic times, the Mekkans now say that when the unbelieving Quraishites besieged the Prophet's family and cut off all trade with them, some of the better-disposed secretly, under cover of night provided the Hâshimites with their necessities, since when the name Sûq èl-Lêl has clung to the street.

in exchange for presents (i.e. in reality for rent). The money earned thereby after all came to the benefit of the Achèhese! The Jâwah foundations share the short life of most of their sisters, but students, particularly those from the East-Indies, can get lodging and something in the way of food at any time without much difficulty.

Those who raise themselves to the highest rank of Jâwah divines always get rich presents from their countryfolk; those who remain standing at a lower level unite the teacher's office with that of acting as guides to strangers or occasionally go home, where their science is paid higher because there is little competition. Many, after years of study in Mekka, seek and find positions in their native land as directors and officials of a mosque (*penghulu*'s, *imam*'s) or as chief teachers in the numerous theological schools where the Jâwah are taught the elements of Islam. As directors they are also managers of the mosque-estates, in many places get a part of the *zakât* (religious taxes) and exercise in the matter of family rights a *quasi*-judicial function which also brings in something. The teachers often enjoy incomes from estates which are linked as *waqf*'s with the schools, or have other advantages, if only the gifts from well-to-do pupils, and the help given by the poorer ones in tilling their fields. A celebrated teacher who has qualified in Mekka will attract students from the most remote regions.

From all the lands of Moslim Indonesia there thus gather in the Holy City a few thousand men together among whom combined intercourse and years of common endeavour have created a much more vivid consciousness of the unity of their islamised race than the short stay can produce among the hajji's. The number and personal worth of the colonists coming from a land may serve in some sort as a measure of the power which Islam has there achieved: one could almost draw a map in Mekka displaying the spread of Islam and its intensity in the various parts of the Archipelago. In any case such a map would be of only relative exactitude, for these servants of science represent only one side of the spiritual civilisation of their lands. There is no lack of those national idiosyncrasies which also stamp themselves on religious life, but the ancient heathen elements of native and Indian origin so characteristic of the popular life of their native land have been completely sloughed off. Tough survivals of pre-Islamic days everywhere resist however the complete transformation of the conditions of life into those laid

down by Islam, and in no Moslim land has the transformation been even nearly completed. In territories where Islam has prevailed for eight or nine centuries longer than, for instance, in Java, superstition is not less prevalent than there, old heathen festivals are celebrated under new names, and the pure monotheism of Muhammed is merely a formula on the lips of those who profess it. When one reflects that Islam was introduced to these isles, not suddenly by force of arms, but made its way quite gradually, through internal reforms, one must admit that the success attained by this religion with the Jâwah puts into shadow the most brilliant victories attained earlier by means of battle.

The reaction to the teachings of Muhammed of the older, not to be under-estimated civilisation, has not aroused among the Jâwah any sect of heretics. The heresy formerly found here was due to the older Shiʿite apostles of Islam, and was easily swept aside by the later current of orthodoxy. The tough survival of the past in the Jâwah lands most civilised before the invasion of Islam, only confirms the acknowledged historical truth, that a whole people cannot be entirely transformed over-night by a new, however powerful idea. The customs and usages condemned by Islam are everywhere disapproved by those of the educated classes who have not lost contact with their people owing to Europeanisation. Those sons of their land who have completely cast off the pre-Islamite man are looked up to by the others, even if these still stand with one foot on heathen soil, as to their masters and leaders. Still too weak to imitate them, they beg their blessing and their prayers, and put faith in their word. Every spiritual movement is a Moslim one, every anti-European sentiment or insurrection hoists aloft the banner of religion, every popular programme for the future is combined with Moslim eschatology, and takes its watchwords from mystic Sheikhs and ʿUlamâ.

I have repeatedly given in greater detail than space allows here, the facts shortly hinted at above. Their chief significance in this place is for a just estimate of the influence exercised by the Jâwah colony in Mekka, on their native land. To gain a practical glance on the life of a people it is not enough to delve into the past, which it more and more sharply denies, for those who have risen from the depths are not so much characterized by the filth which

clings still to them, as by the very fact that they have risen. We are not concerned with details, what matters is the aim towards which the general development is moving. The question is: what do the Jâwah want to be, not what they were. Respecting this, the steadily growing spread of Islam over all parts of the East-Indies should be a lesson even to the most ignorant. In lands where the population is already islamised, the mystic and scientific authorities (owing to the low grade of education and also the quacks in both fields) represent, in highest instance, the spiritual life and ideals of the Jâwah. The spiritual nourishment however, they draw through those intermediaries, by long or short paths, almost exclusively from Mekka, and modern means of communication have considerably facilitated the import of the article. There live in Mekka the choice few who have thrown themselves into the very source of the stream of the international life of Islam to be purified and strengthened in its waves. Continually brisker communications of these colonists with their homes, continual exchange of the here ripened doctors against new students furthers the participation of the country-people who have remained at home in the acquirements of their distant leaders.

In easily comprehensible fashion, this phenomenon can be discerned in the hand-books used in teaching in Moslim schools in Java, Sumatra, and Borneo. The latest literary publications in Mekka soon drive out the teaching material brought formerly from Mekka, and among the merchandise exported out of Mekka which finds a ready market, figure above all, printed books the authors of which are either Jâwah settled in Mekka, or Mekkan professors specially esteemed by Jâwah. Numerous demands for *fetwâ's* continually come to the Mufti of the Shafi'ites from the East-Indies.[53] Sometimes the doubtful enquire only of a learned compatriot in the Holy City, because he knows the sources as well as the other, and according to popular opinion the right to give an "opinion" depends more on learning than on an official position.

[53] Some time ago the news spread in Java that the use of petroleum lamps in the Mosque of Mekka had been forbidden caused many enquiries of the Muftî, because hitherto one had made no bones about burning petroleum lamps in Javanese mosques. The answer permitted them to keep on using the cheap oil. In Mekka originally one was not so anxious, but as here at evening every student brings his lamp there spread such a penetrating, evil stench, that the authorities were forced to ban petrol from the holiest temple of Islam, not to speak of the fire-risk.

The Jâwah colony in Mekka represents in essence the future of the peoples out of whom it is composed and continually increased, and all parts work in their own fashion at the hastening of the foreseen process of development.

Exempla docent. A sheikh from the Lampong district (South-Sumatra) who had lived twenty-five years in Mekka, told me the following story which in its principal feature is undoubtedly true, although this or that detail concerning events in the home he had for so long not visited might need to be corrected. In his youth the Islamising of his home was long completed but there was not apparent any vigorous religious life. His family had always been one of the most important of the neighbourhood; he claimed even in the society of former officials to be descended from the Sultans of Banten. Decayed from various causes his family owed the winning back of its former greatness and comfort in the last fifty years to having joined the Dutch government in its wars with Palembang and the introduction of their government in the Lampong district.

In his youthful days a hajji was the greatest of rarities; his eldest brother was among the first to go on pilgrimage to Mekka. Ambition, and "*Wanderlust*" aroused in our Sheikh as a boy the desire to go on pilgrimage, he thought vaguely that the government officials disapproving of such plans caused his father to delay the journey at least for a year. At last, however, he reached his aim, and once settled in Mekka, the young Lampongman would not go away, but having completed the customary studies, was accepted by the venerated Khatîb Sambas[54] in the Qâdirite *tarîqah* and took out a licence as pilgrim-sheikh. Some of his countryfolk lived in his house, in particular a countrywoman who became his wife. She however, has passed her best days and our sheikh enjoyed as second wife the daughter of the above mentioned divine Mènschâwî.[55]

He was the first pilgrim sheikh for his countryfolk, until then they were "led" by the same mutawwif as the Benkulese. He now worked energetically by correspondence and other means to increase the Lampongese contingent to the pilgrimage. He now stated with

[54] Cf. infra p. 262.
[55] Cf. supra p. 185.

satisfaction if not without sorrow for the loss of his own monopoly that now four sheikhs with their widespread families, helpers, etc. profited from the pilgrims from his native land; besides himself one Lampongese and two Mekkans. His own helpers were mostly countryfolk or at least Malays. Also there lived now in Mekka a comparatively important colony of Lampongese, many of whom studied successfully. Owing to this, experts in Moslim law, and protagonists of Moslim life in the Lampong districts are much more numerous than was the case thirty years ago.

The Pan-Islamic movement was not without influence on our Sheikh and all Lampong in Mekka was touched by the same hope. During the Russo-Turkish war (1877–8) fervent prayers were offered up in the house of our Sheikh for the success of the Moslim arms, and no one contributed more willingly to money-subscriptions for the war than he. In his native land, meanwhile, the political element of Moslim enthusiasm had not spread energetically. There had always been people opposed to European rule, but his family were not in sympathy with them. The Sheikh often reflected how things would have gone if one had not eagerly welcomed the Dutch; if one had drowned the petty squabbles which divided the Jâwah at home by the noble war-cry of Islam: had one gathered under the colours of the Sultan of Banten, Palembang, or even Achèh and expelled the Belanda (= Welanda, Olanda) then many millions of Jâwah would form together a great Moslim Empire, which other members of the race would continually have joined. Whilst in such mood, letters often reached him from home which, particularly when they came from his nearest relatives, breathed quite a different spirit. A very near relative, who was chief of a district, told continually of new alterations in the administration, expressed his pleasure at the good relations between himself and the assistant-resident, once even sent him the drawing of a medal given to him by the government for meritorious service, etc. Such letters roused the Sheikh, normally not *wild* in his views, to a fury of fanaticism in which he cursed one of his elder relatives who had fallen in battle against Palembang, and called him a "martyr to the Devil".

Once there came an outburst: that District Chief wrote him that the Dutch sustained in Achèh one defeat after another principally because they could not stand the climate, nor sustain the wiles of the Achèhnese. His sense of honour would not allow him to remain inactive under such circumstances and, through his Dutch superior

as intermediary, he had offered to the "Great Lord" (Governor-General) himself to take the field with 300 welltrained Lampongese against the northern foe. For this reason he had asked the Government to let him have 300 breech-loaders. He now begged his relative, settled in Mekka, to buy him an excellent "Stamboul" sword, to sprinkle Zemzem-water over it, and to say prayers over it in the *Haram* so that Allah might make it a sword of victory!

Our Sheikh's answer to this naive epistle must have come like a thunderbolt to the house of the District Chief. Instead of the usual form of greeting "Peace be with thee" this opened with the words customary when in cases of doubt as to the propriety of the religious sentiments of the person addressed: "Peace be to him who follows the True Guidance!" Then followed a far-reaching discourse as to the relations between Believers and non-Believers, that the latter should everywhere be subject to the former and that it is contrary to God's Word if Moslims abandon their own territory, without desperate combat, to the Unbelievers. He described the tragic position into which the Jâwah lands were fallen owing to laxity in religious things, and insisted that stronger faith would have meant greater zeal and union, in which case without doubt an irresistible Moslim Jâwah empire would have developed instead of the *kafir* government. In conclusion he expressed the hope that his relative might forsake the ways of the Infidel, and further, in his neighbourhood, the pure Moslim sentiment. But should the Sheikh ever hear that his former friend had gone to Achèh to help to triumph the armies of Satan, so vowed he that every day before the threshold of the Kaabah his prayers would rise that God might leave the corpse of the renegade unburied on Achèh soil. What has been told hitherto I heard from the Sheikh's mouth without making local enquiries, but the answer of the District Chief I read myself. He ruefully confessed his error but pleaded as excuse his ignorance of religious things. He had found means to withdraw his offer in a suitable form, and for the future would pray for the triumph of Moslim arms.

Such native officials are usually little informed as to the contents of religious books, even when they, as often happens, are less well-inclined towards the Government than our Lampongese, or when they, from superstition, venerate the mystic Sheikhs in the highest degree.

From intercourse with many Lampongese, who came to Mekka specially for Hajj, I gathered that now one can get there a fairly

thorough training in the "three branches" although such scientific centres do not exist there as in the highlands of Padang, in Palembang or in Achèh. From this typical example one can see see how the Hajj serves indirectly as a channel through which currents of intensive Moslim life find their way to the Jâwah lands. In general, the scientific elements of the Jâwah colony in Mekka play a greater part than people of the type of the Lampongese sheikh. If I wished to give an in some measure exhaustive description of these circles, as they existed during the time of my stay, I should often be obliged to repeat the same thing in other words, for the career and activity of one of the learned differ from those of others only in name and unimportant details. For a general view it will suffice if we visit a few prominent men and question them and their friends and pupils as to their past and mode of life.

The "Nestor" of the Jâwah professors, *Juneid*, comes from Batavia, was already ripe in years, and had made somewhat deep studies, when he travelled fifty years ago to Mekka, never to return home. Among his teachers was the Muftî Jamâl, known only by name to the present generation, and if a celebrated contemporary of Juneid who belonged with him to the Jâwah colony, is mentioned to-day, one adds as prefix the significant word "blessed": *Khatîb Sambas* (from Borneo) learned in every branch, who as Sheikh of the order, has initiated so many Jâwah in the Qâdirite *tarîqah; Abdulghani Bima* (from Sumbáwa) almost declared a saint; the emotional but somewhat learned and very fanatical *Isma'il Menangkabo* (from Sumatra) concerning whom the opinions of his countryfolk vary greatly; and many others who have come less prominently on the stage, belong rather to the past. Only *Juneid* still lives and shows himself when possible at the family festivals of learned or fashionable countryfolk who gladly entrust to him the naming of a child, the concluding prayer of a *qirâjah* or the leading of a *dhikr* although his voice is becoming indistinct owing to the weakness of age and the lack of many teeth. In former years he taught Arab grammar and Law in his house to students coming from the province of Batavia, and probably to other Jâwah (i.e. from Bali and Sumbáwa) who use Malay as a scientific language. He strove, however, to bring his pupils as speedily as possible to the reading of Arabic books, as to the fully arabised Sheikh, the Batavian dialect

was but a clumsy instrument of tuition. Then, he gave lectures on all branches, sometimes at home, sometimes in the *Haram*, and more advanced Jâwah, who as beginners had used a tongue other than Malay, could also attend these lectures. Juneid won such great reputation, that without any request from his side, he was named for a part of the annual gift of corn for professors. For many years he has been obliged to renounce his lectures; teachers of no less capacity have continued his work.

He had two sons by an Egyptian wife: *Saʿîd* and *Asʿad*. Both enjoyed a fairly Arab education, learnt however the elements of the science, besides from their father, from his contemporaries among the Jâwah (Abdulgháni Bima etc.). Later, the Shafiʿite professors, mentioned in a former chapter, Mustafa Afifi, Ahmed Dahlân, and the now long dead Madah and èn-Nahrâwî, whose lectures most Jâwah students attended, were their teachers. Since the father's need of rest, the sons took over a part of his activities as a teacher: Saʿîd died a few years ago at an age of about forty five. Asʿad, about forty, still teaches the Batavian and other students who gather round him. The most learned and highly spoken of Jâwah respectfully kiss the old Juneid's hand and address him publicly and privately as their *Tuwan Guru* (Lord Teacher).

A daughter of Juneid is married to the Batavian divine *Mujtaba* who has passed nearly the half of his forty years in Mekka. Mujtaba had also begun his early studies before his first pilgrimage and uses the finer Malay tongue with more skill than his father-in-law. After having made his studies more profound with help of Juneid and the Arab professors, (particularly, Nahrâwî, Madah and Hasab Allah) he began himself to teach in Mekka, but did not lose the opportunity to hear an occasional lecture given by his old teachers. He did not lack pupils, and his friends and relatives at home willingly supplemented the proceeds from his small estate there, to make an adequate income. This quiet life, however, could not satisfy him permanently, and for many years he has belonged to the migratory elements of the Jâwah colony. Every few years he leaves Juneid to take care of his (Juneid's) daughter and visits his two wives in Batavia where he stays a year or so, puts his local affairs into order, sells books and other goods from Mekka, and devotes his leisure hours to the interests of those country-folk eager for knowledge. His behaviour in social intercourse is affectedly modest and "high-toned": before answering a question he stares for

a moment in front of him, and then, according to the questioner's race, he brings out in elegant Malay or Arabic a formal discourse. He never negatives or corrects outright the opinions of another, a *rectissime sed potius contrarium* is the sharpest censure which can come from his wise lips. This manner immensely impresses the Jâwah, and although, owing to his frequent journeys Mujtaba has been unable to secure a place in the foremost rank of learned Jâwah, he is a very popular figure among his countryfolk.

Here we will say goodbye to the province of Batavia; the other lands of West-Java (the Sundanese linguistic area) will however keep us busy for long, for there is no other part of the East-Indies so well represented by teachers of the first rank as well as students of every age. As is well known Islam found on its appearance in West-Java much simpler conditions than in the central and eastern parts of the island. It was not countered in its working by such deeply impressed national traditions, and thus showed much less local colour. Most of the great figures of Holy Science come from the former sultanate of Banten, but Priangan (vulgo: Preanger) is also, for the Mekkans, and alike in moral and material matters, (because it produces so many students and pilgrims) one of the "best" Jâwah lands.

Sundanese has not raised itself to the level of being a speech of Moslim civilisation: in the full sense one can only count as such the Javanese and Malay[56] and in some measure the Madurese, Makasarish, and Buginese. In the first two there is a stately row of translations from Arabic, and also compilations, commentaries, and a rich popular-religious literature, independent of the Arabic in which the local type of Islam comes most successfully to expression. The other three have shown themselves as suitable garb for Islam in much less degree. Madurese, Makasarish and Buginese, who wish to learn anything in this particular field, are forced finally to learn Javanese or Malay, should Arabic be too difficult or too far-off. In comparison with this, Sundanese has no greater

[56] Both tongues however, are in Mekka contemptuously dismissed by the divines who have acquired them with their mother's milk, as soon as they can use good Arabic. In this respect also they work eagerly to support the attitude of contempt for their own race.

scientific value than for instance the languages of the Achèh or Lampongese.[57] Even when these people study at home they start with a foreign, if closely kindred speech. At most the beginners gain help in understanding only from a few short notes or fragmentary interlinear translations in their mother-tongue, dictated by some teacher from their own district.

While many Sundanese attempt to learn the highest wisdom through the medium of Javanese, others whether Achèhnese, Lampongese, people from Sumbáwa etc. use Malay. In Mekka also there is offered this choice to the Sundanese and they go varying ways.

The chief difference between the native and Mekkan method of tuition, is that in Mekka, the Malay or Javanese tongue, always serves as means to introduce students to Arabic, particularly the grammar, so that they can pass over this bridge to the thorough study of Arabic books of Law, Doctrine etc. continuously using the native language in the interpretation of the text until the *copia verborum* thus gained makes this superfluous. On the other hand, in Java, one uses only either Javanese or Malay books, or one begins without the least preparation to read small Arabic introductory works. Only in a few places, (Samarang, Surabaya, and in the interior where a celebrated teacher gives a school temporary brilliance) teachers mostly educated in Arabia, follow the Mekkan method, which is gaining the upper-hand in West-Java, and should gradually drive out the older system of teaching.

It seems very clumsy, to give people Arabic books before they have occupied themselves in the least with Arabic, but the system is fairly practical in view of the requirements of most of the lads who go to school in Java. One notes the endless trouble and endurance which the Javanese must spend in Mekka, first to *understand* the Arab tables of declensions, then to absorb the contents of a grammatical work drop by drop, and at last through long-continued grammatical analysis to use what has been learnt to understand a *fiqh* book. The boy writes to every form of declension the Arabic termini, and the most detailed translation into Javanese (or Malay). Thus he writes e.g. over the word *faʿala: fiʿl mâḍî mufrad mudhakkar ghâ'ib* (i.e. Perfect of the verb, singular, masculine, 3rd person) and under the same: *maʿnané wus agawé wong lanang sidji ghâ'ib*)[58] (i.e. the meaning is: one male person absent *has done*)

[57] Although some Arabic works have been translated into these languages, they are considered insufficient as vehicles for science.

[58] Such interlinear translations are also written in Javanese with Arabic characters.

the form *faʿalâ* is termed in the title: *fiʿl mâḍî tathnijah mudhakkar ghâ'ib* (i.e. Perfect of the verb, dual, masculine, 3rd person) and in the subscript: *maʿnané wus agawé wong lanang loro ghâ'ib* (i.e. the meaning is: "two male persons absent *has done*"). After the pupil knows by heart all forms with such explanations according to the series, he is questioned as to the same at random and with regard to other roots than the paradigma (*faʿala*). Afterwards, one sets him to analyse the various words of a grammatical handbook, in the manner shown, and if he does this without difficulty, one explains the sense of the rules of grammar through paraphrased translations in Malay or Javanese. If the mothertongue of the pupil (perhaps Sundanese or Achèhnese) differs from these two the various words of the explanation which he does not understand are translated over again. After completing the first manual of grammar, one treats a *fiqh* text in similar fashion: what the student fails to understand, one first analyses and then translates the whole into one of the two literary Moslim languages of the Jâwah.

The vocabulary he must learn gradually through much reading and under the lead of a teacher; in this students settled in Mekka have great advantages over those at home even if the latter have a teacher who thoroughly knows Arabic, or is an Arab. Acquaintance with the colloquial tongue cannot be substituted by anything else.

If in Jâwah lands one would only open the gate of wisdom to those who had first wandered through the long road of declension and grammar, by far the largest part of those desirous of learning would lose courage before they had learnt to understand a word of the Holy Law. For that reason in those Java schools where the Arab method has not yet been substituted for this custom, one gives the beginner at once little Arabic works dealing with the elements of Law and Doctrine. Many of the artificial phrases used therein are known to the people, and the teacher explains the context which the listeners write between the lines of the text. It need scarcely be added that many only understand what is written between the lines, because the original despite repeated spelling out and impressive reading remains to them unfathomable. Nevertheless one sees sometimes really astounding successes gained from this pitiful means of teaching. I have seen in Mekka folk from Ponorogo, and Paṭjitan, who through years of continuous study of this sort of Arabic *fiqh*-texts, could translate just as fluently and almost as correctly as their countryfolk from Samarang and Surabaya

who had studied in the Arabic method. The difference was that the former could not read any individual sentence rightly, or indicate correctly the position of any particular word in the sentence. In any case they could only give the contents of a passage correctly.

In Mekka almost all Jâwah teachers use the Arab method but must pay regard to the various steps in education mounted by their pupils at home. With some they must start from the very beginning; with others they must go over again what has been already learnt and introduce strict philological methods.

Some of them are tolerably well able to keep pace with the more advanced ones who have always studied in Mekka. Indeed it makes no great difference if youths listen together to lectures, who according to our notions, should have been divided into several classes; for they help one another and what one lacks, the other has in superfluity. Sometimes the path of study also among those who learn according to the same method, is not passed in the same manner. The one who has stopped at one station longer than the others, has perhaps at the next overtaken his colleagues and passed ahead. The students learn at least as much from mutual intercourse, and practices in common, as from lectures.

After this digression we will proceed to consider the Sundanese divines in Mekka and pause a moment by some. Two attract our attention owing to the great number of Priangan youths around them. Both Muhammed and Hasan Mustafa are known here by the name of their native place in Priangan, Garut, as if by a surname. *Muhammed Garut* is fairly old and came first to Mekka not as a primary student but as a teacher thirsting for more thorough study. He sat at the feet of Egyptian and Daghestani professors, and found in their circle the most hopeful Jâwah as his comrades. The bustling life of the Holy City during the holidays caused him sometimes to follow the example of his countryfolk and pay a visit to his native land: thus he also was a link in the communicating chain between Mekka and Java. At times here, at others there, he taught with many "blessings" in all theological branches. For the last ten years he has lived uninterruptedly in Mekka, and presents from relatives and disciples have enabled him to build his own house on the slope of the mountain which rises behind the Qushâshiyyah quarter. For about six years he daily held a couple

of lectures on grammar and *fiqh* but his principal interest is in mysticism. Sixty or seventy Javanese and Sundanese in Mekka obey him like "corpses in the hands of the washers", and many pilgrims annually barter pious offerings for "blessings".

Hasan Mustafa was Muhammed's pupil in Java, and came first to Mekka about 14 years ago, to hear the lectures of the elder Jâwah divines and to attend in the *Haram* the lectures of Hasab Allah, Mustafa ʿAfîfî, Abdallah Zawâwî etc. For about ten years he has taught himself, and some of the text-books written by him, (including one on Arabic prosody) have been published in Cairo. In his house, one always found after sunrise and in the afternoon, several dozens of Javanese and Sundanese, listening to his words: at other times he studies himself in the *Haram*. A few years ago he returned to Java, not meaning however to stay longer there than to put his affairs in order.

Now we come to the province of Banten, the inhabitants of which are numerously represented in all classes of the Jâwah colony. The most highly esteemed leaders of the intellectual movement originate in most cases from Banten. As doctor of divinity the Sheikh *Muhammed Nawáwi*, vulgo Sheikh Nawáwi Banten, who does all honour to his name taken from the celebrated author of the principal Shafiʿite manual of Law, overtops all others. His father, Omar ibn Arabi was district-*penghulu* (i.e. director of the mosque etc.) in Tanara (Banten) and himself taught his sons, Nawáwi, Tamim and Ahmed, the elements of Holy Science. The brothers got further instruction from Hajji Sahal, then a famous teacher in Banten, later they went to Purwakarta in Krawang, where Radèn Hajji Jusuf attracted travelling students from the whole of Java, particularly from the West. They made the pilgrimage whilst quite young, after which Nawáwi remained about three years in Mekka, and as he returned home, with rich "scientific" booty, the plan was already ripened within him, permanently to settle himself in the neighbourhood of the House of God, which plan soon came into execution.

For thirty years he has now been incessantly active in Mekka to improve his own knowledge of Moslim science in every direction, and, as leader, to smooth the path of study for the Jâwah. At first he studied under the now departed great ones of the previous generation, Khatîb Sambas, Abdulgháni Bima etc., but his real teachers were the Egyptian Yûsuf Sumbulawênî and Nahrâwî,

JĂWAH (BANTEN) WOMAN PILGRIM

besides Abd èl-Hamîd Daghestânî (died a few years ago) whose lectures he used to attend, in company with many other divines almost to his life's end. Formerly he taught himself at every available hour, but during the last 15 years his literary work has left only the forenoon for that purpose. Every morning, between 7.30 and 12 noon, he gives about three lectures, calculated according to the requirements of his numerous pupils. He readily receives boys, who first begin with grammar, as well as ripe pupils, who have themselves at home a small lecture-hall. These latter however, as also some of the Sheikh's household (e.g. his youngest brother Abdullah, sixteen years old, whom he has entirely brought up) take a part of the elementary tuition off his shoulders.

Nawáwi is a significant example of the difficulties which a Jâwah must overcome in oral use of the Arabic tongue. After a thorough preliminary training, he has lived thirty years in the Arab city; he can recite the Qur'an, which he knows by heart, perfectly, and in reading aloud an Arabic text the consonants come out correctly. But as soon as he uses the colloquial language in every day life, he forms half Javanese constructed sentences, and hurls about the gutterals Ḥâ, Khâ, ʿAin, and Qâf in despair. These four sounds cause the Javanese the most trouble, and as the Khâ is comparatively least trouble many of them use this instead of the two others, and for that reason are often laughed at by the Mekkans. The answer to the customary question which a Mekkan addresses to decently dressed Jâwah, "How long hast thou already studied here?" may run *qarét fi 'l-haram sabʿah senîn* "I have studied in the *Haram* seven years". This sentence is yelled after the members of the Jâwah colony, in their own corrupted Arabic, by the streetboys thus: *kharêt fi l-kharam sabʿah senîn* which means: "For seven years I have *polluted* the Kharam".

It was scarcely favourable to Nawáwi's fluency in speaking Arabic however, that his only wife should be a countrywoman, who according to his intimates, "wears the breeches" and succesfully opposes his desire for a second marriage. Against this must be balanced his extraordinarily active association with the Arab divines of Mekka. But in any case the brilliant gifts of our learned divine are expressed more with the pen than with the tongue, and he has the defect, which is often found linked with disorder in speech, of utterly neglecting his outer appearance. If the ritual law of Islam had not made cleanliness a duty he would be positively dirty. His

body sparsely covered with dirty, colourless clothes, with a "sweat-cap" on the head, he lectures upon the Holy Text, in a large room on the ground floor of his house; and even his street-garb, according to Mekkan ideas, scarcely accords with the dignity of his social position. His bent body makes his little figure yet smaller, he goes along the street as if the whole earth were a gigantic book, in which he reads. When I once asked him why he never lectured in the *Haram*, he answered that the ugliness of his clothes and of his outer man did not accord with the distinguished appearance of the Arabic professors, and when I remarked that less learned countryfolk did not refrain from lecturing there on that account he replied, "If they have attained such high honour, then assuredly they have earned it".

From such expressions, one need not necessarily conclude that the man is really modest, and also the manner in which he described himself in a preface as "The dust of the feet of those striving for science", does not prove much. In reality however he actually distinguishes himself by that quality. He accepts the handkiss from almost all Jâwah living in Mekka without false compliments as an obvious tribute to science, and never refuses an enquiry as to the Divine Law. In social intercourse of any kind, he rather joins courteously in the conversation, than dominates it, and never starts any scientific discussion without cause given by others. An Arab, who did not know him, might pass a whole evening in his society without noticing that he was the author of about twenty learned Arabic works. His moral influence is very important and far-reaching but his personality is entirely in the background. Under his inspiration, more and more Sundanese, Javanese and Malays turn to the thorough study of Islam, and the politico-religious ideals of Islam gain, in their most highly developed form, increased circulation. But Nawáwi is no man's father-confessor. It is only natural that the man should rejoice in the difficulties caused by Achèh to the Government, and, in conversation, disagree with those pensioned officials who hold that the Jâwah lands must necessarily be governed by Europeans. The resurrection of the Banten sultanate, or of an independent Moslim state, in any other form, would be acclaimed by him joyously whether or not the insurrection followed according to the Holy Law or took the form of undisciplined fanatical bands. For himself however, he would seek no political role, nor counsel such to others. It would however be impossible for him to do as was once done by his father, and is now done by his brother, Hajj

Ahmed, in succession to his father: serve the infidel government even as *pĕnghulu*.

Personal ambition leads Nawáwi only to activity in the literary sphere. Formerly he gave plenty of work to the Cairo press, and lately he is said to have had a great Commentary on the Qur'an printed by the young newly established Mekkan Press. As examples of Nawáwi's works published in Cairo may be mentioned: in the grammatical field a Commentary to the Ajrûmiyyah 1881, a treatise on style ("*Lubâb al-bayân*") 1884; in the field of doctrine *Dharîʿat al-yaqîn*, the title of a commentary on the well known work of Senûsî, 1886, a commentary entitled *Fath al-mujîb* on Ad-durr al-farîd, written by Nawáwi's teacher an-Nahrâwî (printed 1881) and three books in which apart from the principles of dogmatic, the five religious divisions of the Law, i.e. the "Five Pillars of Islam", are treated. To this must be added some devotional works which are read out in solemn assemblies: two commentaries on the poetic *Môlids* (Biographies of Muhammed) by Barzanjî; a commentary upon the work by the same writer upon the legendary Journey to Heaven, and a commentary upon a poem in which are given the "most beautiful" names by which one can call Allah, the Prophets and the Saints. Nawáwi has written two great commentaries dealing with the whole body of Law; in a commentary on the Manâsik of Sharbînî (printed 1880) he deals with the rules for the pilgrimage; and in two small commentaries on works of Hadrami divines (*Sulûk al-jâdah*, 1883, and *Sullam al-munâjâh* 1884) he deals with various questions as to ritual.

In mysticism our divine follows, as one might gather from the characteristics described above, the line of Ghazâlî; like the professors of the *Haram*, described in the previous chapters, Nawáwi exclusively introduces his students to the works of Sûfî's with whom ethic preponderates over the occult elements of mysticism. He does not counsel his students to join a *tarîqah*, but does nothing to prevent them from doing so. From many conversations which I have had with Nawáwi, it was clear to me that he found in the penchant of his ignorant countryfolk for the mysterious, under prevailing conditions, reason to turn an even more tolerant eye upon the errors of the tarîqah than is done by the present-day Arab divines.[59] When the Arab opponent of the tarîqahs which

[59] Cf. above p. 204.

are widely spread over Java, Sèyyid Othmân bin Yahya in Batavia, sent him a violent polemic against this pernicious system, for approval, he did not refuse to support the Sèyyid with flattering words; but this latter inferred therefrom a closer agreement with his opinion on the part of Nawáwi than what actually existed. Othmân bin Yahya indeed takes the field against *tarîqahs*, which he does not exactly describe by name but only in venomous sermons, and *insomuch* as the latter touch upon a mystic order, Nawáwi can only agree. But in the *application* of a criterium agreed to by both, their ways go far apart, a point which the polemical brochure did not touch upon.

However that may be, the mysticism practiced by Nawáwi himself is the moderate, ethical Sûfism of Ghazâlî in the more formalistic shape which it adopted in later times. His literary activity again evidences this, for in 1881, there was printed a commentary by him on Ghazâlî's Bidâyat al-hidâyah and 1884 a commentary upon a mystic poem of Zein ad-dîn al-Melêbârî (the grandfather of the author of the same name, mentioned above).

Nawáwi's brother next in years, *Tamim* has not made such thorough studies as the Sheikh but in said to have a good Arabic style, and to speak good Arabic. Formerly he was a pilgrim-sheikh, and before the steamer had gained supremacy over the traffic, he earned good money as pilgrim-agent in Singapore. I have not been able to learn why the Government forbids his stay in Banten, his homeland. Financially crippled he now lives in Penang. Nawáwi, for several years has also been a pilgrim-sheikh, although his disciples consider the traffic unworthy of his scientific attainments. If one can believe them, Nawáwi's relatives, whilst he was on visit to Medina, took advantage of a new regulation imposed upon the guild of mutawwifs, to buy a license in the name of the divine, in the well founded hope that his revered *name* would be a good *omen* for the business. Even if the Sheikh was not entirely in ignorance of the transaction, it is certain that he neither directly nor indirectly has anything to do with the exploitation of foreign pilgrims; for that he has no time, no inclination and absolutely no skill. Also he has no instinct for making money or even for a comfortable, let alone luxurious, life; although rich gifts rain upon him he lives with extreme simplicity, and writes his books at night by the glow of a little, pewter, petroleum lamp (*mèsrajah*) which other people only use when showing a visitor out. His wife seems to have a

greater sense for realities, and undertakes some rather important business. It is thanks to her care that the guests whom the Sheikh invites to meals on holidays, lack nothing although the Professor himself behaves as if in a strange house.

The Sheikh *Marzúqi*, a relative of Nawáwi, has a much more distinguished appearance and also speaks Arabic better than he. In Mekka he attended the same professors as Nawáwi, and despite the slight difference in their ages, he studies also under Nawáwi himself. A real bird of passage, while I was there he had for the fifth time returned to Mekka after long journeys, and now lived, since about nine years, quietly in the Holy City, engaged at home, after each of the five daily salâts, with the teaching of his numerous pupils. He spoke Malay better than Nawáwi and was perhaps on the whole a better teacher although he had not read half the books which Nawáwi had in his head. He was brother of the Qâdirite order (which no doubt helped him whilst on his travels) and thus was very intimate with Abdul Karim below mentioned. Not long after I left Mekka, he went away again, it was said to visit friends, and do business at home. I think however, that the last was only a pretext to quiet the suspicions of Government officials. Formerly he visited, all through, not only Banten but, for instance, also Siam and Bali, both lands in which Moslims are in a minority. He is said now to have visited Penang and Deli: the well-to-do Sultan of Deli seems willingly to receive visits from pious Jâwah, or sherifs from Mekka.

Sheikh *Isma'il Banten* also on account of his descent, takes a prominent position, and as scion of the Banten sultans (who count as sèjjids) is addressed by his countryfolk as "Tubagus". His sister was the wife of a Regent, his father-in-law was appointed Regent in the time of the English. He was first taught by his father Hajji Sadili, who took him with him on the pilgrimage, whilst a small boy. After returning from this Hajj he followed exactly the same course of study as the Sheikh Nawáwi i.e. was taught by Hajji Sahal in Banten, and later travelled to Purwakarta in Krawang to the learned Hajji Yusuf.[60] Most of the elder people, who later

[60] The following and others were mentioned to me as pupils of Yusuf: Sheikh Abu Bakar, who also studied in Mekka twenty years ago, and since then has himself had a big school in Pontang (Banten), Hajji Hamin, Muhammed Ash'ari (later in Bogor), Banten further boasts of the following divines who have studied for a time in Mekka: Hajji Othman in Undar-andir, who lived for about eight years in Mekka, and whose

made a reputation for learning in Banten, have visited this school.

Isma'il was still young when he came for the second time, and for a long stay, to Mekka. Here Nawáwi's teachers were also his, except that he studied dogma and mysticism under a Hanafite Professor, ès-Sèjjid èl-Kutubî. After a few years of study he returned to Banten, and there taught the "*âlât*" (instrumental subjects; see p. 192) in the degree that it is absolutely essential to the Jâwah for the understanding of the "three subjects" (Law, Dogmatic, Mystic). According to Arab notions he went much too fast towards this goal, impelled by his genuine Javanese penchant for mysticism, as also the scantiness of his Arabic knowledge. Sundanese, who had studied with him, formerly in Banten, and then came to Mekka, told me with good-humoured scorn that the *Tubagus* explained the difference between the masculine and feminine form of the Arab demonstrative pronoun *hâdhâ, hâdhihi* (this) as if *hâdhâ* meant the nearer lying, *hâdhihi* the thing farther off![61]

He interrupted his tutorial activities now and then by travel to Mekka, and settled down there permanently about thirteen years ago. Plantations which he possessed at home, and wealthy relatives gave him a considerable income. His relatives presented him with three houses in Mekka, in one of which he lived himself. Whilst healthy, he studied regularly with two professors in the *Haram*, and himself gave two lectures at home daily, his pupils being also students of Nawáwi. His descent, pious character, and benevolence to those in need, gained him in popularity what Nawáwi gained in prestige, but in late years he has been continuously in ill-health, and only receives intimate friends. While he was well, his house, particularly in the month Rabîʿ al-awwal, which saw the birth of Muhammed, formed a centre for social unions of the Jâwah. The Prophet's birthday (*Mulud*) is still more warmly celebrated in Java than in Mekka. Indeed the whole month *Mulud* is there so crowded with festivals and holidays that one can scarcely accept all the invitations showered upon one. Javanese in Mekka, who were travelling

---

tutorial activities have suffered continued interruption by official duties since his appointment as *penghulu*; Muhammad Sadili in Serang, upon whose counsel the Regent is said to lay great weight, and who is said to drill the children of the neighbourhood in the salât as if they were soldiers; Hajji Mahmud in Terate and Hajji Muhammed Qasid in Bêdji (Tjilegon). This Qasid, also called Wasid, was the ringleader of the recent riots in Tjilegon.

[61] The languages of Indonesia have no grammatical gender.

home at the beginning of the year, often told me how glad they were to be able to pass the joyous Mulud month at home. Their colony in Mekka sticks to this custom as far as possible and there scarcely passes an evening without a gathering, in 5–10 Jâwah houses, of large companies of Jâwah and their Arab friends to hear *môlids* in Muhammed's honour, and then gourmandize together. The well-to-do *Tubagus* was not inactive in these things, and even now he calls his friends together a few times in the Mulud month, without however being able himself to participate in the feast.

There are dozens of the younger West-Javanese divines who partly owe their preparation for the lectures of the *Haram* to Nawáwi and who now when they remain in Mekka, can take the younger students so far that Nawáwi can start with them at once *in medias res*.

Thus, for instance, *Arshad ibn 'Alwan* from Tanara who went to school to Nawáwi's father, and later learnt from Nawáwi, his brother Tamim, and from Marzuqi. In Banten, he also sat at the feet of Hajji Sama'un in Pandeglang,[62] and of the Arab professors in Mekka his principal teacher was Hasab Allah. One counts it as a sign of high, endeavour on his part, that he even studied the Arab medicinal art under a scholar from Hadhramaut, and during a four years stay in Banten, he had often to give medical advice. For some time he functioned in Serang as member of the Muhammedan court ("priesterraad"). In 1885 he had made three more pilgrimages and both eagerly studied and taught. Now he is said to have gone home again. A second *Arshad, son of As'ad* from Banten, has left Mekka at about the same time as the first named. His father having gone to Batavia, Arshad first studied there, then in Mekka, under guidance of Abdulghani, later under that of Nawáwi and the Arab professors. He speaks Malay excellently but Arabic very badly. A swarm of Malays, Sundanese and Javanese, flocked to his lectures. The thirty-year-old *Ahmed Djaha* from Anyar (Banten) is both extremely modest and thoroughly learned. He has passed nearly half his life in Mekka, and did his means allow it, he would willingly pass some years in the Azhar University in Cairo. He mingles with less learned contemporaries without the least affectation, and the Javanese boys regard it as a pleasure to study with him, indeed they whisper, with youthful exaggeration, that

[62] This divine is said to have had his school in the village of Kadu Marna.

Sheikh Ahmed is really more learned than Nawáwi, the Sheikh *per exeellentiam*.

Memories of personal intercourse may possibly have led me into giving a longer list of names than the reader may find desirable.

But there remains one man, whom I must mention, whose personal influence upon most Jâwah and even upon some of the Arabs is more important than that of any of the divines mentioned above: the Sheikh of the Qâdirite order, *Abdul Karim Banten*. As a young boy he gained the honour of being taken by Ahmed Khatib Sambas, then at the height of his prestige, as a serving student in his house.[63] Khatib Sambas was regarded by his younger contemporaries as learned to the highest degree in all branches; he particularly overranked his colleagues however in that he had reached the highest grade in the Qâdirite *tarîqah*, and initiated, in accordance with their natural gifts, thousands of pilgrims and settlers from all parts of the East Indies, into the mysteries. If envy were not abominated by the mystics as a deadly sin, the innumerable students must have envied Abdul Karim in that he might pass night and day in the near vicinity of the divinely illuminated one, accompanying him on all visits to the Mosque and in the town and become a participant in the secrets of his heart. The licence (*ijâzah*) to teach the *tarîqah*, which Abdul Karim after some years received from his old master, was regarded as a natural consequence, and with this precious gain, the man, long highly esteemed in wide circles, travelled first to Singapore, where he is said to have been active three years, and then, for about the same period, to his home. The aged Khatib is said to have given him special warnings and instructions on his departure from Mekka, which were to guide him in all his dealings. As to these admonitions Abdul Karim's pupils told me something, the correctness of which however I could not test by questioning him, for although I have smoked many Javanese cigarettes with him, and spoken much with him, such questions as to his intimate life would have been considered immodest.

The master, among other things, had warned him urgently against women and kings! The first warning was sensible — but the kings? Perhaps the Residents and other Government officials in the East-Indies were meant thereby in which case the aged man's words

[63] Cf. above page 262.

would have shown his practical grasp, for as a matter of fact the sermons and blessings of Abdul Karim, spreading over Banten, caused the Resident somewhat to hamper the Sheikh in his movements. This he told me himself, and added, that every evening hundreds eager for salvation flocked to where he was staying, to learn the *dhikr* from him, to kiss his hand and ask, "If the time were at hand, and how long the Kâfir government would continue?"

The Jâwah highly reverence the ʿAlim, who can explain the Holy Law and preach a pious life according to its prescriptions, but their native disposition and their mode of thought, derived from Hinduism, render the superstitious majority of them slaves of the illuminated. In the most distant villages the stupid Hajji who writes magic formulae counts for more than the Qur'an-teacher: in higher, better educated circles the two factors of spiritual life rise to higher absolute value, but the proportion between them remains the same. One does not ask the learned man when "the time" is coming, that is not to be found is his books: information as to this is gained on the one hand from the grimy tracts of the village scribe, or from the Sheikh, who through his mystic chain (*silsilah*) holds intercourse with God.

The Javanese folk, hungry for miracles, glance expectantly to as high risen a man as Abdul Karim for outer signs by which God announces. His favour before all the world. Is he not a Wálî, a Friend of God, a Saint? And are not miracles called in dogma *karâmah's*[64] the outwards signs of sanctity? On Abdul Karim's tour, his *karâmah's* were soon displayed to the accompanying disciples who awaited them.

From one example told to me by many adepts, one can judge how there arises the mass of legends contained in the manâqib (records of merits and virtues) of the saints.

Abdul Karim was about to go from Singapore to Batavia and had bought a ticket for a steamer. On the day when this should leave harbour, on his orders his companions had already gone on board while the Sheikh paid a farewell visit. But he was late and the time came near for the last warning signal, without his anxiously waiting friends being able to get a glimpse of him. Although these pious people could not understand a word spoken by the captain

[64] The Jâwah also use *kerámat* in this connection, but the word also means in Java the place where after the saint's death miracles are wrought: the Holy Tomb.

and crew, they afterwards related with naive certainty that the captain had repeatedly given orders to sound the bell for departure but the sailor only made useless efforts to extract a sound from the bell: either he could not raise his hand, or could not get the clapper to move. This is supposed to have lasted, to the amazement of the infidel seamen, for half an hour until at last the Sheikh, with the calmest tread imaginable neared the ship and mounted on the steamer with the air of a man who had come just at the right time. A few minutes later, the spell was broken, the bell sounded, and the steamer could begin the voyage. Fervent prayers of thanks over this and similar signs rise to heaven from the circles of the Qâdirite Brethren.

After the journey mentioned the Sheikh came back to Mekka and has now lived there about eleven years. He lives in a large, magnificently furnished house which gives quarters for many relatives and friends, and to many serving and necessitous pupils. Gifts in money, household necessities, valuables of all kinds flow upon him from every quarter and he conscientiously applies all to the benefit of the entire Brotherhood. His own mode of life is simple without any affected asceticism: while many Sheikhs of orders forbid their brethren to smoke, Abdul Karim sets an example of moderate use of tobacco; keeps open house almost daily, and offers his visitors good food without exaggerated luxury.

When he returned to Mekka, the Master from Sambas was already dead; the latter had appointed him his successor on his dying bed, so that Abdul Karim's prestige at once rose considerably. Not only Jâwah from the entire Archipelago, pilgrims and settlers, educated and uneducated thronged for the blessing of his spiritual lead but even bred and born Mekkans. Of science the Sheikh knew only enough to lead a life pleasing to God; not more grammar than is urgently necessary to understand theological literature; not more casuistry than will shield one from error in ritual things; also he possesses but such knowledge of dogma as is a minimum for the ʿAlim. The learned ones, nevertheless, acknowledge his place in the very first rank, and confirm the *vox populi* according to which all these accomplishments however little each in itself may be, in Abdul Karim's case, through noble gifts of the heart or much more through the special Grace of Allah, are melted into a wonderful harmonious whole. On his part he venerates the *ʿulamâ* and their work, treats Nawáwi and even divines of lower rank as his equals

and says only that his occupation in educating himself and others in mystic things leaves little of his limited powers over for pure science. His students however rightly understand this to mean that one should rather devote one's life to the attainment of the most intimate communion with God than spend the short time of earthly existence in solving questions which cannot revivify the heart. He counsels his advanced adepts to gain the high mysteries of Truth also by the way of deliberate study of mystic works. But all should let the Truth work upon them direct by the ordered exercises and the spiritual and physical diet, which he prescribed for them.

Pilgrims and other folk, who owing to their short stay in Mekka can only take with them something of the "blessing" of the order, he treats in the traditional manner. A few weekly meetings of the various pupils with the Sheikh are made fruitful by daily exercises in common and the repetition of the *wirds* after every salât. The many students living in the East-Indies, who have more or less limited licences from the Sheikh, can then so order their further instruction as to develop the germ of wisdom laid by the Master. In Mekka however, all the Brethren come to the Sheikh daily after the *'asr* and hold, under his guidance, ½–1 hour long *wirds*. On the 11th and 12th of every month there are great solemn assemblies, to which friends outside the *tarîqah* are also invited.

In the first chapter[65] of this volume we saw that a *haul* originally meant the anniversary of the death of a prophet or saint but that one sometimes fixed such dates arbitrarily, or covered pre-Islamite festivals with the name of a holy person and islamised such festivals as much as possible. The reader will not fail to have observed the courteous fashion in which the great saints of the Mekkans have all departed from life in the month when the solemnization of their festivals best suited the citizens. It is noteworthy that all *hauls* in Mekka, (and many international ones also) take place about the time of full moon. It is noteworthy further that some specially esteemed saints have the same day in the order of the days of each month devoted to them. Of these twelve days eleven are called little hauls, and one, which is the real anniversary of death, the great haul.[66] Thus the patron saint of Mekka Khadîjah has her great haul on the 11th Ramadhan, because this is accepted

[65] Cf. above p. 43.
[66] *haul kebîr* and *seghîr*.

as the date of her death, her "little" haul is however on the 11th of each other month. Thus since the founder of the Qâdirite order, Abd al-Qâdir al-Jîlânî died on the 11th of the fourth month (Rabîʿ al-Akhir), and Muhammed on the 12th of the third month (Rabiʿ al-Awwal) Abdul Karim's followers celebrate a little haul on the 11th and 12th of every month, and the real anniversaries of the Saint and of the Prophet are made great feasts.

We know the fiction, by which the saints' hauls, originally no doubt a part of the cult of the dead, have been taken over by Islam. In like manner as one does pious works in the name of departed relatives, such are also presented to the saints, not because these need the gifts, but to secure their friendship and intercession with God. In the manner in which Abdul Karim and his friends pass the festival evenings there is however scarcely a hint of the official attitude. Everything seems calculated to honour the name of the saint or prophet and to strengthen the bond which holds the Brethren together. On the 11th of the month the Sheikh reads after the *ʿishâ* the *manâqib* of Abd al-Qâdir.

The lectures alternate with the *dhikr* of the Brethren, and are usually ended by the chanting of a poem in praise of Muhammed (the *Burdah, Bânat Suʿâd* etc.). There then follows a feast to which, in the houses of the Sheikh and his neighbours, the Arab, Javanese, Sundanese and Malay guests are invited. On the 12th proceedings are similar save that the saint's *manâqib* is substituted by the Môlid of Muhammed.

The daily exercises and the many *dhikrs* and *wirds* held in smaller circles, as introduced by Abdul Karim, are in general free from those extravagances, which have effects like those of opium or intoxicants. One observes, among the Brethren of Abdul Karim's order, outbursts of religious frenzy akin to madness only in the lower ranks, or in a more refined form, only in the most intimate meeting of the intimate. But the element of the mysterious plays with all a part not less important than the ethical, and the Brethren love to dwell with half closed eyes, and in twilight between the frontiers of two worlds. The highest ideal is always to experience already in earthly life, in intoxication of the spirit and of the senses, such sensations as no human tongue is able to describe. It is of great importance therefore, in forming a judgment upon a *tarîqah*, to know in what direction it guides or stimulates the physical life, so as to create the desired condition. In the Qâdirite

circles under the direct influence of Abdul Karim, still more weight is laid upon the rigid observance of the Divine Law, the penetration of ritualistic forms by higher thoughts, the combating of hidden sins, than upon the admittedly indispensable movements of the upper body, or of the head, and the hypnotic training of the spirit whereby the holy formulae pass from one shoulder through the heart to the other, and so farther.

Because the *tarîqahs* give to the individual inclination of the spirit the true direction instead of simply teaching in general terms (like professors of Holy Science) what all should do and believe, it is obvious that these societies work much more powerfully towards the furtherance and vivification of political ideals than study, not to mention the much wider circles which they influence. From the professors one learns for instance what should be the relation of Islam to the Infidel according to the Divine Law; how in reality this relationship has been turned completely upside down, and that one must regard the existing relationship as unjustified and due to the sins of men. In the *tarîqahs* the practical consequences are drawn from such doctrines, and the glance of expectation is turned towards the Sheikh of the Order. Among the ignorant masses however these consequences are expressed in all kinds of fanaticism.

A peculiar personality among the men who are most intimate with Abdul Karim is a certain *ʿAidarus* from Tjeringin (Banten) who made the pilgrimage whilst very young, then went home and studied theology[67] until Abdul Karim's arrival in Banten caused him to join the Qâdirite society as an enthusiastic student. When the Master returned to Mekka, ʿAidarus also went there and since 1878 has lived near him. In Mekka he studied at the feet of his learned countrymen, Nawáwi and Isma'il, further with the Professors Ahmed Dahlân, Hasab Allah, Mustafa ʿAfîfî, Abdallah Zawâwî, etc., but Abdul Karim remained his spiritual father. He may have learnt as much about science as his master, in his leisure hours he teaches a few children and elder people who lack earlier teaching. But whatever he studies or may teach or speak of, he has the mystic tone and betrays the "Brother". His excellent memory is a store for hundreds of traditions which he recounts at every suitable opportunity in a modest voice. When he opens his mouth to speak

[67] He studied principally in Kadu Marna near Pandeglang where Hajji Samaʿun was his teacher.

of worldly things it is always to encourage "high thinking", and to ban mundane sentiments. For instance some friends sitting with him may speak angrily of the evil deeds or bad character of someone absent. Anxiously avoiding any direct blame ʿAidarus uses a pause to cite some tradition in which scandal and backbiting are denounced as deadly sins. If profane jests go round, he holds out sayings of the prophets in which religion is also held to limit humor. Once I heard while in his presence a condemnatory judgment on the prodigality of a Sèyyid living in Mekka. With amiable unction ʿAidarus cited Muhammed's words: "The generous man is God's friend even if he is a great sinner; the miser is God's enemy, even if he leads a holy life", on which the conversation took another course. Sometimes he will surprise a friend, who visits his home by quoting something from the Sacred Traditions, usually directed against a bad quality on the part of the visitor, and remarks that every one should take these fine words to heart and act accordingly. If he considers the inclination and spiritual direction of a person suitable, he begins to develop the penchant for mysticism in a more direct fashion; finally declares the necessity of spiritual guides for the soul; and emphasizes that it is no matter of indifference to whom one entrusts one's most precious possession. Far be from him the thought to give other than praise to such noble Sheikhs as Khalîl Pasha or Suleiman Efendi, and anyone who on account of the "blessing" turns to these masters of orders will do well. From his own experience however he can recommend the God-graced Abdul Karim, as a true father-confessor to whom one can unhesitatingly commend one's soul. ʿAidarus represents the type of volunteer parson among the mystics, and apart from this, acts as a recruiter for his old master from Banten.

The other heads of mysticism in Mekka most important for the Jâwah, are not themselves Jâwah but Khalîl Pasha and Suleiman Efendi, mentioned in the previous chapter. These have in the Holy City their Javanese, Malay and Sundanese interpreters and helpers, and their agents in the East-Indian Archipelago, with whom they maintain an active correspondence. Sometimes the reports of the Khalîfahs in the East-Indies give the Sheikh occasion for a circular letter to the Brethren across the sea and in important matters they turn to him themselves for fetwâs: we have already emphasized that the acknowledgement of the validity of a fetwâ depends largely upon those who demand it. What learned authority should the

"Brother" prefer to the word of the Master to whom he has given himself *perinde ac cadaver*?

As we wish to deal in this connection only with the most prominent things, there is little to be added regarding other parts of Java. A pilgrims-sheikh, who comes himself from Cheribon teaches his particular countryfolk the elements of Doctrine and of Law. The part taken by the province of Semarang in scientific life has already been evidenced by the productions of the Mekkan printing establishment. In 1886 the Comments of *Muhammed Maʿsûm* from Semarang on Ahmed Dahlân's Commentary on the Ajrûmiyyah was published, in 1885 a manual of declension and conjugation by *Abu Hamid Muhammed* from Kendal.

The only other Javanese living in Mekka whom we will describe in some detail is *Abd ès-Shakûr* (usually called Abdu Sukur by his countryfolk) from Surabaya.

This man came to Mekka more than forty years ago quite young, with little means and scanty knowledge, hoping that some Arab divine would take him into his service and teach him in exchange. Then as now, the professors of the *Haram* esteemed the skill and docility of Javanese body-servants. The Rector who died in 1886 had also two Javanese at home, one of whom always accompanied him, and leapt to fulfil his wishes at the least hint. Abd es-Shakûr found a benefactor in Seyyid Muhammed Shattâ, father of the learned author of the *Iʿânat at-tâlibîn*.[68] He was accepted in his house as a serving student and the Javanese still boasts of the almost more than servile fashion in which he waited on the Professor. All his free time however he devoted to study, and apart from his master, the Arab and East-Indian teachers of Nawáwi also served as his instructors.

Every Javanese in Mekka knows a story which characterizes Abd es-Shakûr's relation to his benefactor. When the old gentleman woke at night he used, as is becoming to a pious divine, to pass a few moments in ritual exercises (*salâts*); for that however he required, owing to the sleep enjoyed, ritualistic washing, and for that reason went first to the *bêt èl-mâ* (bathroom and closet). So that the honour of pouring water over the master's hands should

[68] Cf. above pp. 185, 188–9.

not escape him, the faithful Abd ès-Shakûr lay down to sleep every evening close to the bet èl-mâ, sprang up as soon as he heard the Professor's step and did the nightly salât with him. Once however he had overslept such an occasion and as he did not dare to beg his venerated teacher to wake him up in case of need he chose the very threshold of the place of impurity as a sleeping place. The very next night the old Shattâ stumbled over his pupil's figure, invisible to him in the dark, upon which the latter hastily kissed his feet and fetched him the water for purification. When the divine apologised for the kick which he unintentionally gave the youth, the student begged him most fervently to wake him thus every night when necessary. The Sheikh, deeply touched, embraced his unselfish disciple.

When the divine died, Abd ès-Shakûr had already gained under his guidance, as under that of others, a high standard in Moslim science, and, as he had come with little previous instruction into overwhelmingly Arab surroundings, was almost without national pecularities. No Javanese speaks finer or more correct Arabic than he; on the other hand from lack of practice it is difficult for him to translate from Arabic into his Javanese mother-tongue, according to the established custom of Javanese teachers. Malay, he speaks like a non-Malay who has learnt it. Muhammed Shattâ, even after his death, continues to further the Arab side of his development: he marked his gratitude to his faithful disciple in his testament by recommending his eldest daughter to marry Abd ès-Shakûr. As generally speaking, the marriage of the daughter of a Sèyyid with a plebeian, let alone with a non-Arab, counts as mesalliance, one can imagine what a sensation was roused by these arrangements of the learned Sèyyid Shattâ! As a matter of fact Abd ès-Shakûr has married all three daughters of his benefactor. When the eldest died he married the second, and when she followed her sister, he married the youngest. The sisters have borne him two daughters.

Although Abd ès-Shakûr's surroundings have given a strongly Arabic direction to his studies he has not lost the national tendency to mysticism. He thoroughly understands Arab grammar, logic, poetry, and as long as piles did not render it impossible for him to remain long seated, he taught these subjects with brilliant success; *fiqh* and dogma also found in him an eager student and apostle. His view of these subjects of study however fully agreed with those of the scientific Sûfis, and he preferred to bring his students so far

as to be able to read Ghazâlî or Ibn ʿAtâ Allah. For the numerous simply educated people from Java who entrusted themselves to his leading, he decidedly preferred practical instruction on the fundaments of the Law and the elements of Dogma duly spiced with mysticism, to a wearisome fruitless training in the Arab way.

For many years his stately house near the *Haram* has formed the goal of innumerable visitors drawn from all classes. He has active intercourse with the heads of the Arab learned men such as Ahmed Dahlân; until a few years ago his pupils were not less in number than Nawáwi's, and such Jâwah pilgrims as could were eager to visit him if only for the "blessing". The aged meagre Sheikh held such audiences in a solemn fashion; pilgrims from the lower classes he helped with a few suitable phrases in the common mother-tongue on life's way; to better educated he delivered in pure grammatical form a few dozen of the ethically or mystically coloured traditions, of which his memory held an inexhaustible store. Learned countryfolk he invited to take meals with him. All replied by gifts according to their means. Like Nawáwi's relatives, his have also taken out a pilgrim licence in his name which however is exploited in a different fashion. While Nawáwi's people, just like other sheikhs, exploit a pilgrim-province given over to them, Abd ès-Shakûr's relatives gain many pilgrims as clients, on account of the "blessing", who are really led by other sheikhs, but have the honour of being nominally "guided" by the saint from Surabaya and pay suitably for it. The Sheikh pays no attention to the details of the source of income; his friends claim that he knows nothing about it and would forbid it if he did. . . . *wallâhu aʿlam*! (and God knows best!)

The island *Sumbáwa* owes nothing of its good reputation in the Jâwah colony, and among the Mekkans to the divine of the preceding generation often mentioned above Abdulghani Bima, for many do not even know that Bima lies on that island. Much more is due to the two important younger teachers who have been born on the West of the isle. *Zeinuddin Sumbáwa* is in the prime of life, but has lived for more than 25 years in Mekka. His teachers were the same as Nawáwi's, in later years principally the Muftî Ahmed Dahlân and Abd èl-Hamîd Daghestânî. He speaks excellent Arabic, reads every morning an Arabic lecture on Law attended not only by his own countrymen but by all sorts of other Jâwah

whose mother-tongue is Malay, i.e. youths from Deli and the Lampong districts (Sumatra), from Banjarmasin and Sambas (Borneo). These are of course more advanced students, although sometimes questions are put to the teacher, from the circle of pupils, which necessitate a short explanation in Malay. At other times he lectures at home to students of the same origin who are less advanced: there Malay is the chief vehicle of communication with the students and they are gradually accustomed to Arabic. His countryman, *Omar Sumbáwa* is younger and not quite so learned but speaks Arabic with a fluency rare in a Jâwah. Unhappily, in confidential intercourse, he often expresses himself with some disdain regarding his learned countryman for reasons which are anything but scientific. Omar's heart was sick with love for the daughter of a Jâwah by an Arab girl, and he was brooding over ways and means to win his lady when suddenly the terrible news burst upon him that Zeinuddin had married her! Omar lectures only at home; his pupils come from the same land as Zeinuddin's.

As early as 1876, thus long before the plan of a printing office for Mekka was ripe, there appeared a lithographed edition of a collection of prayers and rituals by Zeinuddin in Malay. Now, 1885–6, two of his Malay works have been printed in the new establishment: the *Sirâj al-Hudâ*, a commentary on the small manual of dogmatic (*Umm al-barâhîn*)[69] of Senûsî and the *Minhâj as-salâm* on the relations between Islam and Imân (Faith), a topic which is also dealt with in different works used in Java for elementary education. The considerable number of Malay books printed from 1884 till now in Mekka bears witness to the importance of the Jâwah element in the Holy City. The Turkish Government has entrusted a certain Ahmed ibn Muhammed Zein from Patani (Malakka) with the supervision of the Malay press. To this is probably due the fact that the works of divines from Patani are most numerously represented in the Mekkan editions. This Ahmed is a savant of merit. In 1883 a grammatical work was published by him in Cairo, and the fourth volume of the I'ânah of Sèjjid Bèkrî contains a poem written by Ahmed in praise of the author.[70] It is probably due to Ahmed's patriotism that the following works of older Patani scholars (i.e. Malays from Patani) have been printed: An Anthology[71] of tradi-

[69] Pilgrims from Lampong told me that Senûsî's treatise is there called Umm Ibrâhîm!

[70] Cf. pp. 188–9.

[71] So I gather from No. 14 of Van den Berg's Catalogue of the Batavia collection.

tions concerning the Hereafter by Zein ul-ʿAbidin Patani, an entire series of works of Da'ud ibn Abdullah Patani, who wrote his best known books between the years 1815–1840 and whose name is often met with in the Catalogue of Malay manuscripts of the Batavia collection. On the book market in Mekka there was to be found since 1880 a series of tracts written by him and lithographed in Bombay on the salât, also a work by him entitled *Kifâjat al-Muhtâj* about Muhammed's Journey to Heaven. I also believe him to be the author of a hand-book of the marriage-law anonymously published in Constantinople. From the Government printing press the following works of Da'ud have come on the market to my own knowledge: his great work on Law and Dogma, *Furûʾ al-masâʾil*,[72] much used in the East-Indies; his handbook of dogma *ad-Durr at-thamîn*; his grand treatise on Life after Death, *Kashf al-Ghummah*; a collection of mystic stories and warnings *Jamʿ al-fawâ'id*. Further, there are also printed in Mekka: a Malay Commentary on the *Jauharat at-tauhîd* (by Ibrâhîm al-Laqânî)[73] after a manuscript written in Sambas, and a commentary from an unknown Achèhnese[74] on the well-known Hikam of Ibn ʿAtâ Allah. In 1885 the Commentary *Bidâyat al-Hidâyah*[75] (by the Achèhnese Muhammed Zein) on Senûsî's Umm al-Barâhîn was printed in Constantinople, and the dogmatic work *ad-Durr an Nafîs*)[76] written by Muhammed Nafis in Banjarmasin in 1786 (Borneo) was printed in Cairo. From the last publications outside of Mekka one can observe that the Rector Ahmed Dahlân exaggerated when he claimed (in his Chronicle of the Town of Mekka) that the Printing Press of the Holy City, founded at the behest of the reigning Sultan, overtops all others in that here apart from Arabic and Turkish, also Malay books can be printed. But one must admit that, bearing in mind the short life of this press and the Turkish leisure which characterizes most of its activities, the Malay literature takes a place of honour among its productions.

Most lands of *Malay* tongue are not at present represented in

---

[72] No. 38 Batavian Catalogue.

[73] This Indian savant who was declared a saint after his death, received after the word on Dogma mentioned, the surname *al-Jauharî* which the Mekkans make Wálî Jauhar. See above pp. 52–3.

[74] Cf. Batav. Cat. No. 28.

[75] Cf. Batav. Cat. No. 45.

[76] Cf. Batav. Cat. No. 32.

Mekka by savants of the first class. From the best known regions of Sambas and Banjarmasin (Borneo) for instance there are many youths studying in Mekka, but for the moment being unable to get much profit from the lectures given by Arabs in the *Haram* they turn to the teachers mentioned from Sumbáwa, Batavia or Banten. The colony from Pontianak (Borneo) takes a special position; its members are largely relatives, friends or favourites of the Sultan of that place. When a few years ago he made the pilgrimage he founded several *waqf* houses in the Holy City and has since then annually sent considerable sums for their maintenance and the needs of their inhabitants. These people show few signs of their Arab origin in looks and not a trace of it in their speech, they have become quite Malay and are an evidence of the truth of the Arab proverb that a man owes two-thirds of his character to his maternal uncle. Despite that, they are distinguished by frank, modest, but self-respecting behaviour and permit no Arab to insult them. I was witness in the Mosque how one of them energetically took the part of a Javanese against an impudent Arab. Once before[77] mention was made of the courage with which a man from Pontianak stressed, in Mekkan society, the need for European rule over his native land. They learn to consider the matter in this light particularly from their thorough study of Moslim Law, which closes their ears to *vulgar* fanaticism and gives fairly wide room to the acknowledgement of the various "cases of necessity" (*ḍarûrah*) overriding, in many instances, the Law. All however are very zealous Moslims, deeply penetrated by the political ideals of Islam, but they would not attempt to realize these by means felt to be impracticable.

The Pontianak colony, so to say, stand under the control of the Zawâwî family, of whom we learnt to know above[78] two important and really honourable professors. By these and their friends they allow themselves to be initiated into the Holy Science and anyone who has lived too little in Mekka and has not learnt enough Arabic in Pontianak gets the necessary tuition from better informed countryfolk, in the Malay tongue. Before the elder Zawâwî accepts them in the *tarîqah* of Naqshibandî they must have made considerable progress in learning. Some of my Pontianak friends however let themselves be initiated in Medina by a Sheikh Mathar who

[77] Page 248.
[78] Pages 184, 207.

shows his pious visitors some "hairs of the Prophet",[79] preserved in wax. There was in Mekka a Makasarese divine from South-Celebes, lectures in whose house, partly in Makasarese, partly in Malay, were much frequented. Many of his students paid evening visits to lectures in the *Haram*.

The lands of Sumatra deliver a very considerable percentage of students, but the teachers coming from thence take place only in the second rank; these however are accidental circumstances liable to be changed in any decade. The Achèhnese settled here are not very highly prized in society; one knows that their native land is distinguished from other Jâwah lands by the prevalence of paederasty, and further the Achèhnese annoy all Arabs with whom they come into contact by their silly idea that Achèh is one of the centres of Moslim civilisation. A few esteemed teachers come from Palembang, and the Lampongese Sheikh[80] mentioned gives elementary instruction to his pilgrims as also to his countryfolk, settled in Mekka under his protection. Nearly all these Sumatra people belong to the *tarîqah*; usually they are Qâdirî's or Naqshibandîs and their master one of the Turkish Sheikhs Suleiman Efendi, Khalîl Pasha, Khalîl Efendi, or the Banten Sheikh Abdulkarim.

A pilgrims' sheikh from Rau (West-Sumatra) Sheikh Zein is really too learned and too clumsy for the role of "guide". The business is as a matter of fact conducted by his fully "emancipated" wife so that the Mekkans always speak of the *Râwiyyah*. When I was in Mekka, about 60 Malay students studied with Zein who only in the lecture-room passed a few hours of the day free from the menace of his wife's slipper. The lady mixed with men of all sorts without the least reserve, and pushed her own interests with an energy rare to her sex even in Europe. That the best teachers in the Padang Highlands, in Palembang, and in such regions where a less active "scientific" life prevails, have acquired their learning in Mekka is well-known. A century ago, a famous author from Palembang (Abd us-Samad) lived in Mekka, and the best known Malay works on theology were written in Achèh at a much earlier time. This sultanate was visited by celebrated Arab divines as for instance the son of Ibn Hajar. To-day, as we said, so far as concerns

[79] Amîn al-Madanî, who in 1883 attended the Congress of Orientalists in Leiden wrote a fetwâ in Medina against this worship of the Prophet's hair. Mathar's friends told me that this evil writing was due to financial envy on the part of Amîn.

[80] Supra page 259.

the Dutch Indies, divines from Banten have the leading place from which however one can draw no far-reaching conclusion as to the relative zeal and qualifications of the inhabitants of that province, for often promising students are determined by circumstances to follow another profession than that of divine. This can be seen most clearly from the fact that 30 years ago Bima, Sambas and Batavia were as supreme in Mekka, from the intellectual standpoint as are now Banten and Surabáya and as were formerly, Banjarmasin, Palembang and Achèh, without much having altered in all these lands.

With this I conclude my remarks about the Jâwah colony and the other consequences of the pilgrimage to the Jâwah lands. I may be permitted however still to say a few words as to the political importance of all connected with the Hajj to the Dutch Indies.

No reader of the above can accept the opinion of many officials who see in all Hajjis fanatical enemies of the Government; very many come back as much sheep as when they went so that the sheeps' heads festival on Abû Qebês has for them a double meaning. The apparent dignity which particularly in Java every pilgrim gains from his Arab garb and the ignorance of the peasants sinks with the increase in number of pilgrims and the increasing wisdom of the people. For the moment one still finds among these Hajjis scattered over the countryside, inflammable material not to be underestimated; which can flame up should any rash man produce a spark. This inflammability is due to the fact that the interests of the Hajji's are usually contrary to those of the Government, whilst many have brought from Mekka pan-Islamic tendencies which can easily develop into fanaticism. Those who have been a little longer in Mekka have in part developed into esteemed Qur'an teachers, in part into warm members of a *tarîqah* which does much more to introduce Islamic ideals of that kind into the Archipelago than the movement of the pilgrim masses, for with these one can angle only in clouded waters, whereas the others exercise a slow but steady influence upon the prevailing sentiments. These, much more important influences, are only *indirect* consequences of the Hajj but nevertheless, *consequences*, and it is perhaps to be regretted that in past times, and in regions which had not hitherto sent out pilgrims, one did nothing to direct the stream into other channels. The time for that has now passed; the limitation of permission to make the

pilgrimage to such people as can prove themselves to be in possession of sufficient means, has its value, but one cannot go farther without exciting the idea of religious persecution in which the Jâwah would be energetically seconded by interested Mekkans.

All other considerations as to consequences arising from the Hajj sink in comparison with the blooming Jâwah colony in Mekka; here lies the heart of the religious life of the East-Indian Archipelago, and numerous arteries pump from thence fresh blood in ever accelerating *tempo* to the entire body of the Moslim populace of Indonesia. Here the threads of all mystic societies of the Jâwah run together, from thence they draw the literature used in their religious schools, here, through the mediation of friends and relatives settled down, they take part in pan-Islamic life and effort. Just as now no dam can be set against the pilgrim-stream, so now nobody can do anything to prevent every flow backwards and forwards from bringing to Arabia seeds which there develop, return to the East-Indies as cultivated plants, and multiply themselves again. It is thus important to the Government to know what goes on in Mekka, what elements are exported from there every year, and how by skilful handling these can be won over to support the Government or at least made harmless. Then it will be possible, without breach of peace, to steer the spiritual life, avoiding measures based upon misunderstanding, at times hateful and at other times too lax; in some cases entirely "taking the wind out of the sails" from the influences streaming from the intellectual heart of Islam, and in others at least moderating them. But above all things no judgments based on classifications: Not *the* Hajjis, *the* adepts of mystic orders, *the* divines educated in Mekka are dangerous, fanatical etc.; all three together however represent the intellectual connection of the East-Indies with the metropolis of Islam, and thus have the right to a more than superficial observation on the part of the European administration, so that one should not estrange the moderate elements by prejudice or ignorant narrow-mindedness, should know the irreconciliable elements, should be aware of every new movement, and possess the means to estimate its importance.

Once in Jeddah I met with the captain of a Dutch steamer, who had come to the harbour to take some hundred Jâwah pilgrims. On the day before the voyage he spoke of the number of "savages"

he was about to take on board. I told him I knew many of his passengers, some of them were quite uneducated, but there were also many whom years of study had made the intellectual leaders of their people; also I warned him not to regard all these Hajjis as equal because all, particularly whilst on journey, wore the same scanty garb. The captain smiled incredulously at the idea that there were really Javanese possessed of literary education who could read scientific books in two or more languages, although it could not have been unknown to him that the common Javanese was far superior to the average European quartermaster in the finer forms of social intercourse. He stuck to it that despite all learning and education a Hajji must be a Hajji i.e. a savage.

The pilgrims had only to pass a few weeks under this captain on a great steamer and the seaman's good humour guaranteed them, despite all "savagery", equitable treatment. In the huge island empire, named by a talented author, in one of his less inspired moments, *Insulinde*, our officials have sometimes to deal with such quite different, if similarly dressed and similarly named people, as our captain. But there regrettable errors can have more serious consequences than on the swift voyage from Jeddah to Batavia. May the constant growth of our knowledge of the spiritual life of the Dutch Jâwah make such mistakes increasingly rare.

INDEX

Abâḍî (or Ibâḍî) 197 n. 6
Abânît 124
ʾAbbâs, Sheikh —, Muftî of Hanafîs 207, 227
Abbasides 27
Abdallah ibn Zubeir, "Father of the Church" 178
Abd al-Hamîd al-Daghestânî, a professor of renown 202, 223
Abd al-Qâdir al-Jîlânî, founder of Qâdirite Order 300
Abd èl-Mannân 254
Abd ès-Shakûr (Abdu Sukur) of Surabaya 274 n. 51, 303–305
Abd Manâf 254
Abd us-Samad, Palembang author 309
Abdullah, son of Omar 289
Abdulghani Bima, Sumbáwa divine 281, 305
Abdul Karim, (Banten) Qâdirite sheikh 293, 296–298, 300–302
Ablutions 41
Abnûtah 124, 143
Abû Bakr 29, 78
Abû Hamid Muhammed, grammarian 303
Abû Numeyy (Sherîf) 128
Abû Qebês Hill 34, 250, 251 n. 33, 310
Abû Shujâʿ, expounder of Holy Law 204
Abû Tâlib, uncle of Mohammed 191
Abyssinians (Hubûsh) 17, 24–25, 120, 197
Achèh (Acheen) 234, 238, 245–247, 257, 262–263, 274, 279–281, 284, 290, 309–310
Achèhnese 262–263, 274, 279, 284–285, 307, 309
Adab 180, 216
ʿÂdat al-Khâliq 173
ad-Durr an-Nafîs, handbook of Dogma written by Daʾud ibn Abdullah Patani 307
ad-Durr at-Thamîn, dogmatic work, written by Daʾud ibn Abdullah Patani 307
Adhân (call to prayer) 73, 79, 124
Afghans 8
ʿAfifî, Mustafa —, Shafiʿite professor 201, 287, 301
Aghâ 25 n. 8, 240
ʿAhd (Contract) 221
Ahl Kâf 232
Ahl al-Kitâb 168
Ahmed bin Zênî Dahlân, Sheikh al-ʿulamâ 124 n. 17
Ahmed Djaha, Banten professor 295
Ahmed Faqîh, Imam and Qurʾan-teacher 253
Ahmed ibn Muhammed Zein, of Patani, supervisor of Malay press in Mekka 306
Aidarus, Bantern Qâdirite 301–302
Ajr 161
Ajrûmiyyah 208, 291, 303
ʿAkde lûlû 148
Âkʾlîn èl-ḥanash 241 n. 17
Âlât 213, 294
Alchemy 176–177
Alfiyyah, of Ibn Mâlik 208
Ali, a "Father of the Church" 178, 252–253
ʾAlim 297–298
al-Kunâfânî 109
Allah Kerîm 4
Allâhu akbar 74, 182
All Souls Day 62
al-Qânûn al-Munîf (Secular Law) 199
Amânah's 242, 242 n. 19, 243
Ambarshâh 149, 149 n. 31
Aminah, Mother of Muhammed 62
Aminah (Tomb of —) 29, 62
Amîn al-fetwâ 195, 201
Amîn al-Madanî, fetwâ of — 309 n. 79
Amulets 27, 54, 110
Amulets (coins used as —) 259
Antarî 43, 240

ʿAqd èn-nikâh (*see also* Mulkah) 140
ʿAqîdahs 209
ʿÂqid èn-nikâh 141
ʿAqîqah 123, 258
Aqrâs (sing. qurs) 111
Arabic Language, science of — 124, 171, 173, 208
"Arabian Nights" and similar tales 180
Arafat 34, 56 n. 25, 85, 133, 257
ʾAraqiyyehs 238
Ardebs (of Egyptian wheat contributed by Turk. Govt. to Mekka and Medina) 188
Arîkah (Rîkah) 145 n. 28
ʿArîs 141 n. 25, 143
Arshad ibn ʿAlwan, divine from Tanara 295
Arshad, son of Asʿad (of Banten) 295
ʿArûsah 143
Aryâh ("winds", cause of illness) 107
Asʿad, son of Juneid, the Batavia divine 295
Ashʿarites 209
ʿAshûrâ, day of — 49
ʿAsr 123, 126, 136, 146, 190, 194, 299
Astronomer (Rèyyis) of Mekka 47, 56, 176, 252
Atfaḍḍalû 125
ʿAzabah 97
Azhar Mosque, Cairo 201
ʿAzîmah (invitation, party) 49, 123, 125, 129–130
ʿAzîmah (amulet, magical practice) 109–110, 115
Azraqî, historian 160 n. 35
az-Zalâbânî 109

Bab az-Zijâdah 190
Bâ Besêl, Saʿîd —, Hadrami dwarf professor 201, 216
Bâb ès-Salâm 151
Bâb Derêbah 56
Bâbûr (steamer) 75 n. 27
Baghlah (mule) 118
Baidhâwî, work of — on Qur'an exegesis 213
Bakr, Abû — 29, 78
Balconies (*see also* Shubbâk) 43, 150
Bânat Suʿâd 300
Banèfsèj 106
Banten, West Java (divines) 248, 257, 283–284
Barakah 124 n. 19, 135, 186, 202
Barràhah 145
Bashka (festival party) 51–52, 61
Basmalah 190, 190 n. 5
Batavia 234, 245, 248, 281–283, 292, 295, 297, 306 n. 71, 307–308, 310, 312
Bèdèl hajji 242, 242 n. 19, 243
Beduins 38, 51, 58, 65–66, 215, 223, 231
Beggars (shahhâtîn, maddâhîn) 4, 118 n. 13
Bèkrî (Sèyyud Abû Bekr Shattâ professor and author) 201, 204–205, 304
Belâmîtah 59
Benches (karâwît) 18, 40, 43, 80, 83, 143, 145, 153
Bérak 135
Bét èl-má 41, 303–304
Bezûrah (plur. of bizrah) 118 n. 12
Bibliomania 180
Bidâyat al-Hidâyah, of the Achèhnese Muhammed Zein 292, 307
Bilâd el-Jâwah 231 n. 3, 233, 246
Bint ʿamm 99, 120–121
Bint èl-bêt 137
Bint èn-nâs 119
Biographical works 178
Birkah 41
Bismillah 124
Bizrah 118 n. 12
Bizr èl-khishkhâsh 113
Blessing of murîds by sheikhs of mystic orders (*see also* Spirituality) 176, 220, 257
Bridal toilet 148–149, 153–154
Bukhârî's collection of traditions 207, 227
Buksumât (or buskumât) 142
Bumbâzâr (or Darâbzûn) 148
Burckhardt, (author of "Travels in Arabia") 56 n. 25, 227–228, 228 n. 11, 255 n. 40
Burdah (poem) 57, 300
Burmahs 143, 145
Buskumât (or buksumât) 142

Caliphs (*see* Khalîfs)
Calligraphy, study of — 181
Camel-brokers (mekharrijîn) 6, 38, 215

Camel-hirers (mekharrijîn, mitsabbibîn) 6, 38, 215
Candles, hired for marriage ceremonies 62, 145, 151 n. 32, 153
Canon Law (*see* Holy Law)
Caravans 50, 61, 65, 69–70, 87, 177, 231, 239, 245, 257
Children, of free and slave mothers, equality of — 110
Circassian slaves 15
Circassian Sultan (the last —) 128
Circumcision 126, 126 n. 21, 127, 130, 135, 244
Clothing, Arab — 38
Clothing, Arab (festival —) 44, 51, 81, 97, 99, 101, 103, 156, 182, 222
Coins, as hair ornaments and amulets 84, 110, 144, 148, 154, 156, 158
Commentaries, and commentators on Law and Tradition 180, 204, 210, 283, 291
"Companions of the Prophet" 225
Concubinage 9, 101, 118–121, 159
Constantinople, regarded by Moslims as the material centre of the world 13, 194, 234, 260, 262, 307
Converts to Islam, training by mystic orders 197

Dâd 21, 127
Daghestan 195, 200, 202
Dahlân (*see* Ahmed bin Zênî —)
Ḍahrak jâ ʿammî — ashî jâ hâjjah 241 n. 15
Damascus, growth of political predominance over Medina 169
Dânâ-songs 150, 158
Daqqâqîn 147
Darâbzûn (or Bumbâzâr) 148
Ḍarb al-mèndèl 116 n. 8
Dars 196
Ḍarûrah 308
Dât 127
Daʾud ibn Abdullah Patani, writings of — 307
Dâyah's 118
Dead, service for the — 160
Death, customs and usages relating to — 160–164
Delîls 33
Dellâls 18
Dervishes (Qâdirite) 60
Dewâyah 196
Dhikr (chants) 52, 57, 61, 65, 76, 126, 130, 175, 191, 214, 216, 220–222, 256, 281, 297, 300
Dhikr (meaning of the word) 214
Dhuʾl-hijjah (12th month) 84–85
Dhuʾl-qaadah (11th month) 87, 227
Dhurm, infusion of — 106
Dihlîz 40, 186
Diseases, treatment of — by Mekkan women (*see also* Healing) 106–107, 110, 112–113, 170
Divan (reception room) 40–41, 43
Divorce 99, 101, 115, 122, 272
Ḍiyâfah 58
Doctors of medicine, Mekkan and Turkish 111, 171, 193–194
Doctors of Law 172–175, 183, 207, 215, 217, 284–285, 291
Dogma, books on — by Daʾud ibn Abdullah Patani 307
Dogma, books on — by Nafis 307
Dogmatic (doctrine) 172–173, 175, 209
Dogmatic (lectures) 192, 208
Dogmatic, manual of — by Senûsî (Umm al-barâhîn) 306–307
Dôraqs 27, 73, 250
Dôsh, infusion of — 106
Dowry, Mekkan wife's — 97, 101–102, 120, 139–140, 157
Ḍuʿf 101
Dukhlah 144, 146–148, 156–157
Duqqah powder 87

Education in Islam 127
Egypt, predominance of Shafiʿism in — 169
Egyptian pilgrims 231
Egyptians, rôle in Islam 233, 290, 309
"Elmu's" 259
En-Nahrâwî, Shafiʿite professor 282
En-Nawwariyyeh (Sarif) 50
Es-Shuhadâ, Place of martyrs 53
Evil eye 106, 108, 110–111
Evil spirits (*see also* Zâr) 41, 106, 108–109, 112, 114

Faʿala: fiʿl mâḍî mufrad mudhakkar ghâʾib 284

Fâʾidah 246
Faith, principles of — 208, 291
Fâlûdah 157
Family Life:
"adoptive" relationships 96–97
feasts (*see* Festivals)
harîm, popular errors concerning 95–96, 119
marriage 96, 98
marriage (ceremonies) 132–134, 140, 142–143, 150–151, 157
seclusion of women (customs in various classes) 97–98
Fannî 157
Fânûs 142 n. 26
Faqîhah 128
Fâqîhs 63, 76, 128–131, 141, 161–163, 183, 253, 268
Farkh 241 n. 17
Fasts:
ʿAshûrâ, day of — 49
Ramadhan 49, 69–71, 74–78, 80–82, 85, 91, 136, 226, 255, 299
Fasûkh 111, 127
Fâtʾhah (Fâtihah, opening chapter of Qurʾan) 51, 57, 62, 75, 100, 139, 142–143, 151, 154, 158, 162, 252, 256
"Fathers of the Church" 178
Fatûr 74, 156
Fatwâ or fetwâ (legal opinion) 161
Felâsî 162
Ferûkhah (plur. of farkh) 241
Festivals
Feast of al-Mahjûb 62
Feast of Aminah 62, 64
Feast of Dhu ʾl-hijjah (10th) 84–85
Feast of El-Mahdalî 61
Feast of Khadîjah 62, 64
Feast of Mêmúnah 50, 57, 61
Feast of Rabîʿ al-awwal 54, 56
Feast of 12th Rèjèb 56, 64
Feast of 27th Rèjèb 65, 226–227
Feast of Shawwâl 82, 85, 87, 227–228
Feast of Sheikh Mahmûd 57
Feast of Shuhadâ 53, 57
Feast of Wali Jauhar 61
Festivals
family feasts 129–130, 132, 136
marriage feasts 57, 125, 269
Festival parties (bashkhas) 51–52, 61
Festival poetry and songs 59–60, 68, 138, 304
Fetîrah (unleavened bread) 107
Fetwâ or fatwâ 190–191, 193–195, 199, 201, 205, 277, 302
Feuds (ward —) 12
Feud settlements (náqâ, firqah) 12
Fiqh 172, 174–175
Fíqî (faqîh) 128
Firqah 128
Fitrah (Zakât al-fitr) 78
Freedmen, position and occupations of — 17
Full (Arab jasmine) 139
Fumigation (of the sick) 110
Furûʿal-masâʾil, of Daʾud ibn Abdullah Patani 307

"Gardens of Bliss" 212
Geography, Moslim interest in — 177, 246
Ghatrafah (*see also* Zaghârît) 124, 140, 150, 164
Ghâwâzî (sing. ghâzîyyah) 144, 154
Ghazâlî, doctrines of — 175, 192, 208–209, 212, 218–219, 305
Ghazâlî, works of — 174, 176, 214, 216–217, 291
Ghâzîyyah (plur. of ghawâzî) 144, 154
Ghumrah 144, 146–147, 149
Ghunâ al-kharît 153
Glosses 183, 204–205, 208, 213
Grand Sherîf 28, 56, 61, 75, 88, 110, 124 n. 17, 128, 136
Guides and Interpreters (mutawwif, delîl, sabî) 30, 33–35, 133–134, 243, 249, 278, 292
Guilds:
Guilds of mutawwifs 34, 292
Guilds of sèyyids 9, 38
Guilds of ulamas 38, 183
Guild-interlopers (jarrârs) 36
Guildsmen, ceremony of admission 35, 37
Guild licenses (taqrîrs) 28, 88, 238

Habbèt èn nôm 113
Habîb Allah, pupil of Abd al-Hamîd of Daghestân 223
Hâdhâ, hâdhibi 294
Hâdhik 142

Hadîth 207
Hadramaut 200–201, 208
Hadramîs 6, 8, 202
Hâḍ'rât 148–149
Hâfiẓ 128
Hair-cutting ceremony at tasmiyah 123–124
Hajj (Great Pilgrimage) 34, 38, 45–50, 58, 68, 70, 85, 100, 159, 227, 236, 243–244, 249–250, 252, 260, 267–268, 274, 280–281, 293, 310–311
Hajjis 234, 248, 258–259, 310–312
Ḥâkim 85 n. 32, 236
Halâwah-sukkarîyyah 142
Ḥalqahs 197
Ham, curse of — (as origin of slavery) 120
Hamziyyah 57
Hanafites 39, 54, 73–74, 79–80, 160, 188, 190, 194, 197, 199, 200, 207, 294
Hanbalites 73, 193, 197
Haniyyeh 60
Haqq al-qahwa 110
Haqqi, author of "Six Discourses" 179
Haram (Great Mosque at Mekka) 34, 39, 77, 83, 91, 118, 142, 160, 176, 189, 193, 195, 202–203, 212, 217, 226–227, 245, 268, 280, 282, 287, 289–291, 294–295, 303, 305, 308–309
Harâm (forbidden by Holy Law) 97, 104
Harameyn (Mekka and Medina) 171
Harb (Beduins) 65, 200, 215, 223
Harîm, life of — (women of Mekkan household) 95–96, 119
Harîrî "Assemblies" of — 180
Hârr yâ ʿésh 245
Hasab Allah, treatises of — 190–191, 282, 287, 295, 301
Haul 51, 53, 61, 63–64, 162, 222, 299–300
Haul kebir and — seghîr 299 n. 66
Healing, methods of — 62, 106–107, 110, 117, 167, 170, 251
Hellenism, influence of — in Muhammedan Western Asia, and North East Africa 170
Heresy and Infidelity 172, 175
Hejazi 6, 9
Hijâbs (ʿAzîmahs) 110
Hijr 142–143, 167, 177, 185, 203
Hijrah 167, 177, 185, 203
Hikam, of Ibn ʿAtâ Allah 307
Hîlah 217
Hilu 142
Himâyah 8
Himyah 107
Hinna 144, 146
Hira, Mount — 251
Historians, Moslim — 177–178
Holy (or Sacred or Canon) Law 78, 121, 129, 136, 141, 188, 204, 258, 285, 290, 297
Holy (or Sacred or Canon) Law (its application) 173, 205, 292
Holy (or Sacred or Canon) Law, commentators & expounders 184
Holy (or Sacred or Canon) Law, development of — 207
Holy (or Sacred or Canon) Law, influence of Moslim life 259
Holy (or Sacred or Canon) Law, interpretation, by doctors of Mekka and Medina, and by those of Syria and Babylonia 171
Holy (or Sacred or Canon) Law, lectures on — (Shafiʿite) 204
Holy (or Sacred or Canon) Law, study of — 173, 175, 183, 197, 207, 217, 220
Holy (or Sacred or Canon) Law, sources, study of — 172, 175, 197
Holy places 6, 29, 33, 35, 37
Hôshah 12
House-terraces 40
Hubûsh 17, 120
Husein ibn Ali, martyrdom of — 49
Hypnotism (*see* Magnetism)

Iʿânat at-tâlibîn, of Seyyid Bekrî 161, 204–205, 303
Ibâḍî (or Abâḍi) sect 197 n. 6
Ibn al-ʿArabî, mystic writer 219
Ibn al-Athîr, historian 178
Ibn ʿAtâ Allah, mystic writer 305, 307
Ibn Hadjar, commentator on Holy Law 204
Ibn Khallikân, biographer 178
Ibrâhîm al-Adham, tomb of — 57
Ibrâhîm al-Laqânî, commentator on dogma 307
ʿÎd (Feast) 84

ʿIddah 137, 163
Ihyâ of Ghazâlî 180
Ijâzah (licence) 296
Ijmâʿ (agreement) 170
Ikhtilâf 170
ʿIlm 259
ʿIlm al-kalâm, or ʿilm al-usûl, or ʿilm at-tawhîd 175
Imams 54, 73, 75, 79, 82, 188, 200, 253
Imtihân 189
Indians, role in Islam 224
Indonesia, languages of — 294 n. 61
"Instrumental" sciences (âlât) 174, 208–209, 213, 216, 294
Iqâmah 73, 79, 124
ʿIqd 180
Iqlâbah 129, 132, 134
Iqnâʿ 204
ʿIshâ prayer 74, 76, 215
Islam, dogma and heresies 209–210
Islam, ethics and formalism 218
Islam, first "School" of — 169
Islam, introduction of — and influences in Malay lands 159, 190, 233, 278
Islam, political decay of — 184
Islam, religious-political ideal, and the diffusion of the religion 223, 301, 308
Islam, rules of conduct and the development of a mystical attitude under Christian, Persian, and Indian influences 174
Islamic victories and conversions (*see also* Moslim Conquests) 170, 197
Ismaʾil, Banten divine 293–294, 297
ʿIsmah 210
Isrâfah 129, 134
Istiftâh 128
Istikhárah 18, 124
Iẓhar al-Haqq, of Rahmat Ullah 188

Jâhiliyyah 167
Jalâls (Sujûtî and Mahallî) works of — 213
Jamʿ al-fawâʾid (by Daʾud Patani) 307
Jamâl, Mufti — 281
Jâriyah (plur. jawâr) 121
Jarrârs (jerrârîn) 36, 118 n. 13
Jauhar, Wálî —, feast of — 61, 307 n. 73
Jauharat at-tauhîd, of Ibrâhîm al-Laqânî 307
Java (*see* Jâwah lands)
Jâwah (or Jâwiyyîn, sing. Jâwi) 7, 35, 39, 46, 84, 90–91, 109, 189, 231–238, 240–256, 258–259, 261–265, 267–270, 272–274, 277, 279–280, 283, 285–286, 289–290, 293–299, 302, 305–306, 309–310
Jâwah colony in Mekka 239, 257, 260, 276, 278, 281, 311
Jâwah divines 275, 287
Jâwah lands 234–235, 256–258, 263, 272, 276, 280–281, 283, 285, 290, 309–310
Jâwah Lands, their intellectual connection with Mekka as the metropolis of Islam 311
Jâwah methods of study, compared with Mekkan methods 284
Jâwah students 202, 282
Jawâr (sing. jâriyah) 121
Jeddah 6, 8, 19, 21, 30, 40, 47–48, 49 n. 20, 57, 59–60, 66–67, 76, 88, 88 n. 33, 109, 200 n. 7, 224, 234, 237, 242, 244–246, 311–312
Jeddah (Nûriyyeh Quarter) 60
Jerrârin (jarrârs) 36
Jinn 29, 108–110, 113, 216
Jirwal Quarter (Mekka) 57–58
Jubbah 37, 43, 75 n. 27, 129, 240
Jubbah (tearing of —) 66
Jumâda 57
Jumâda al-Âkhir (17th) 57, 61
Juneid, Jâwah divine 281–282
Juzʾ 256

Kaabah 27, 29, 29 n. 10, 30, 49, 49 n. 19, 50, 56, 65, 70, 79–80, 85, 126, 136, 140, 142, 160, 177, 191, 196, 216, 239–240, 249–250, 254–255, 280
Kaabah, perambulation of — (*see also* Tawâf) 27, 216
"Kabûs" 117
Kadi-oil 149
Kâf 232
Kafirs (see also Unbelievers) 47, 262
Kait Bey, Mameluke Sultan, Madrasah of— 186
Kalâm, usûl ad-dîn 175, 208
Kamarân sickness 234 n. 7

Karâmahs 297
Karâwît 40, 254
Karim, Abdul —, Qâdirite Sheikh from Banten (*see* Abdul)
"Karîmahs" 60
Kashâ'it 148
Kashf al-Ghummah, of Da'ud ibn Abdullah Patani 307
Kaukab al-Hajj 126 n. 21, 231 n. 2
Kêlîtah 59
Kemènjeh 52
Khadîjah, tomb of — 57, 64
Khadîjah, haul of — 62, 64, 299
Khalîfs 169–170, 181, 199, 206
Khalîfs, four orthodox — 78, 186
Khalîfahs 193, 257, 302
Khalîl Efendi, Sheikh of mystic order 257, 302, 309
Khalîl Pasha 256, 302, 309
Khalîl Pasha (controversy with Suleiman Efendi) 191–193
Khalwahs or Khèlwahs 71, 186
Khamîrah (leavened bread) 107
Khamsah 84
Kharêt fi 'l-kharam sab'ah senîn 289
Khatîb or Imam (which see) 66, 188
Khatmah (recitation of the whole Qur'an) 75 n. 27
Khatt 181
Khazânah 44
Khèlwahs or Khalwahs 71, 186
Khitbah 138
Khutbah 56, 66, 124, 141
Kifâjat al-Muhtâj, of Da'ud ibn Abdullah Patani 307
Kitâb al-fawâ'id wal-'awâ'id waz-zawâ'id 180
Kitâbs 245
Kitchens (matbakh) 42
Knowledge, sacred and pagan — 167, 171, 176, 195, 218, 223, 227, 245
Kubâriyyeh 21
Kûfiyyeh 153
Kunâfah 109
Kuttâb 128

Lâ bás 'aleik 161
Lâ ilâha illa 'llâh 160
Lampongese 278–281, 284, 309
Law, Sacred — (*see* Holy Law)
Law, Secular 171, 199, 201
Learned men, their attitude to the mystic orders 219–220, 223, 235
Learning, as a career 132–133, 183, 273–274, 281
Learning, a bar to official positions 277
Learning, encouragement of — 118, 185
Learning, in Mekka 202, 309
Lèbbah 148
Lectures in Mosque, times of — etc. 189, 227, 269
Lîf 60
Liwajh-illâh 239
Logic, foreign methods opposed to Moslim Tradition 232
Logic, an "instrumental" study 213

Maala 29, 51, 62–64, 161, 249
Mabshûr 52
Madah, Shafi'ite professor 282
Maddâhîn (praisers, beggars) 4
Madhabs (schools of interpretation of the Law) 34, 172
Madrasahs 185–186
Maghrib 215
Magic, forbidden by Islam 110
Magic, formulae 110–111, 297
Magic, practice of — for the cure of illnesses 110–112
Magnetism 116 n. 8
Mahdî, rule of — and prophesies concerning — 206, 211, 224
Mahmal 231
Mahmûd, Sheikh — 57–58, 61, 100
Mahmûdiyyât 144, 148 n. 30
Mahr 139
Majnûn 113
Malay books printed in Mekka and Cairo 306–307
Malay lands (*see* Jâwah lands)
Malay language and dialects 232, 245–246, 248, 253, 255, 281, 284–285
Malabar (Menêbâr) professors 202
Mâlik, Alfiyyah of Ibn — 208
Mâlikîs 197, 199
Manâqib 297, 300
Manâsik 227, 291
Manassah 156
Manqal 127
Manshûrî 239
Mansûr 262

Maqaad (plur. maqâʿid) 40
Maqâmât of Harîrî 180
Maqâm, —Ibrâhîm 79
Maqâm (Imam's stall) 73
Marash 86
Marhabâ 131
Marʿî 197
Marriage:
  agreements relating to — 99, 102, 137, 139
  arranging of marriages 137–138
  brokers 39, 47, 97
  ceremonies 141–160
  contracts 7, 96–97, 101, 103–104, 139–141
  dissolution of — 99, 159, 192
  feasts 57, 59, 125–146, 269
  marriage-tie (looseness) of — 97–98
  processions 220
  temporary marriages 97
Martak 127
Marzûkî, Sheikh —, Banten divine 295
Massaa 50
Mâ shâ Allâh tabâraka ʾllâh 111
Maʿsharah 146
Maskûn 116
Masage 117
Maʿsum, Muhammed — of Semarang, author 303
Matâf 214
Matbakh 44
Mathar, Sheikh — of Medina 308–309
Meʿallim (or Fíqî or Faqîh) 128
Meʾakhkhar 44
Meʿallimiyyeh 37
Meʿâshir 146
Mebâshir 132, 153
Mebâshirîn 44
Medarris 196
Medawwarah 103, 148
Medicine, as a trade (*see also* Healing methods) 106, 113
Medina 6, 13, 47
  customs 67
  hatred of modern customs, etc. 67
  Mekkan reverence for Medina 136
  once seat of executive and legislative power 169
  women's pilgrimage to Medina 87
  yearly gift of Turkish Sultanate 188
Meghanniyah 146
Mèhramah 148
Mèjlis 43, 96
Mèjlis es-sittât 149
Mekabbahs 7, 146
Mekharrijîn 6, 38, 215
Mekka:
  centre of learning for Muhammedan world 228
  dialect 9
  dress 9
  dispositions of Mekkans 47
  hospitality 9, 68, 269
  houses 39, 45
  lodging of pilgrims 33, 39, 46
  motives for settlement in Mekka 6
  population 7, 231
  social life 13, 47
  spiritual 'Centre of the World' 224, 262
  trades 7, 188
  yearly gift of Turkish Sultanate 188
Mèkwa 115
Mêmûnah 50–53, 57, 61
Menâqib 53
Mèndîls 149
Menêbâr (Malabar) professors 202
Mengaji 268
Mènschâwî, Sheikh Muhammed —, teacher of Jâwah 268–269, 278
Meqahwî 40 n. 15
Meqahwiyahs 149
Meqassid (or munshid) 151
Meqayyinah 144
Merâbhah 6
Merawwaq 106
Mèrwah 50, 76, 80
Mesâʿid (or raddâd) 151
Meshabbak 157
Meshâlî 110
Mèshhèd (feast-prayer) 83, 85–86
Mèsrajah 292
Mezèyyin 127
Mibkharah 86
Mina Valley (*see* Muna Valley)
Minhâj as-salâm, work of Zeinaddin 306
Miʿrâj (History of Muhammed's journey to Heaven) 66, 226
Mishkhas 144
Mitallat 106
Mitfèrrijât 148

Mithaḍḍerât (muhḍarât) 148
Mitrak almâs 148
Mitsabbibîn 6
Môlid (recitation of Life of Muhammed) 52, 54, 56, 68, 128, 130, 132, 136, 157, 162–163, 226, 291, 295, 300
Moneylenders 237
Morality, Moslim views contrasted with European 119
Moslim attitude to European governments 235, 267
Moslim Conquests, History of — (by Ahmed Dahlân) 179
Moslim Laws:
Canon Law (*see* Holy Law)
Law regarding feasts 125
Law regarding marriage 132
Law regarding mourning 159, 163, 185
Law regarding usury 4
Law regarding slavery 22
Secular Law 199
Moslim life and influences in East Indies 257–258, 265
Mosque, Great — (*see* Haram)
"Mount of Light" (*see* Hira)
Mourning customs (of women) 163–164
Muʾaddhins 56, 74, 77–79, 232, 252
Muʿâwiyah, A "Father of the Church" 178
Mubârak in shâ Allah 125
Mûbashirîn 125
Mudd (wheat measure used by Muhammed) 87
Mudrêhah's 86
Muftî (official expounder of the Law) 178, 184, 188
Muftî Hanafite 188, 194
Muftî Shafiʿite 178, 181, 189, 195
Mujtaba, Batavian divine 282–283
Muhâjirs 199
Muhammed 201, 210
Muhammed tradition 167, 170
Muhammed teaching of — 276
Muhammed vision (on Hira) 251
Muhammed al-Baghdâdi yimsik aẓẓahr wal-ayâdî 59
Muhammed Garut, Sundanese divine 286
Muharram 45, 49
Muhḍarât (mithaḍḍerât) 148
Mujarrabât (probata) 111
Mukabbirs (fuglemen) 74
Mulkah 139–140, 142–144
Mulud (môlid) 294–295
Mumlik 141
Muna Valley (ceremonies and customs) 61, 84, 109
Munshid (or meqassid) 151
Muqrî 196, 201
Murîds 176, 220, 257
Mûriyyah 148
Murshid 176, 219
Musical instruments 52
Music, of poems 58, 130–131
Mûsiyyeh 59
Mustafa, Hasan —, Sundanese divine 286–287
Mustaka 110
Mustansir, Khalîf —, madrasah and library of — 186
Mutʿah 137–138
Mysticism 175–176, 192–193, 216–219
Mystic orders 176, 178, 219–220, 223, 235, 292, 311
Mystic orders Sheikhs of —, as representatives of God and mediators between God and man 223
Mystic orders, instruction of converts 212
Mystic orders, initiation of Jâwah converts 267
Mystics 174, 176, 212, 217
Mutawwifs 30, 33–35, 134, 249, 292
Muʿtazalites 173

Nadâ, Nadâna 146 n. 29
Nafis, Muhammed —, author of works on dogma 307
Nahw 208
Nakhâwilah sect 200 n. 7
Names, Arab — adopted by Jâwah 252–254
Naming ceremony (of children) 156, 160–161
Names, choice of — 124, 252
Namûsiyyeh 59
Nânekha (Ammium) 108

Náqâ 12
Naqîb 15
Naqshibandî order 191, 219, 222, 308–309
Nassah 156
Natural science, opposed to Dogma 108, 173
Nawawî, commentator and expounder of Holy Law 204, 207
Nawawî, son of Omar ibn Arabi, Banten divine 287
Negroes (sûdân) 15–16
Negro orchestras (tumburah, tubûl) 15
Negro women, as slaves 120–121
Neighbours of God 7, 57, 67, 188
Nejfahs 145
Niẓâm al-Mulk, founder of first madrasah (in Baghdad) 185
Nubians 3, 15, 25
Nûr Muhammed 135

Oath of fidelity to Muhammed 66
Oath of obedience 221, 256
Oil, burning of — in mosques 277 n. 53
Omar ibn Arabi, father of Nawawî Banten 287
Omar Sumbâwa, Jâwah divine 306
Omayyades 169
Oneiromancy 124
Ornaments, curious —, worn at marriage ceremonies 157
Othman ibn Yahya, Sèyyid —, opponent of tarîqahs 292

Palembang, professors from — 309
Paradise and Hell, doctrine of — 212
Patani divines, works of — 306–307
People of the Scripture 169
Persians, rôle in Islam 233
Personal intercourse with God 218
Pictorial representation of living beings 179 n. 2
Pilgrimages:
  Great Pilgrimage (*see* Hajj)
  Small Pilgrimage (*see* ʿUmrah)
  to tomb of Ibrâhîm-al-Adham 57
  to tomb of Mêmûnah 51–52
  to tomb of Sheikh Mahmûd 57, 100
Pilgrimages of women:
  Hajj 68, 227
  to Medina 69
  to tomb of Sheikh Madmûd 58–57, 100
Pilgrim canvans 50, 225
Pilgrim dress 33
Pilgrims 3, 7, 13, 231–232
Pilgrims Jâwah — 234–239, 305, 311
Pilgrims exploitation of — 13, 90–91, 268
Pilgrims exploitation (by women) 104, 122
Pilgrims exploitation of Jâwah 220, 234, 238, 242, 244, 247, 249, 268, 292
Pilgrims, lodging of — 39, 46, 236
Pilgrims, recruiting of — 225, 234, 238
Pious deeds, doctrine of rewards for — 160
Poems, Arabic — and "Assemblies", (*see also* Songs and Poetry) 180, 291
Polygamy 9, 98
Pontianak (Borneo) colony in Mekka 265, 274, 308
Praise, formulae of —:
  rawâtib 74
  songs of praise 57, 159
Prayer, attitude of — (Qiblah) 173, 262
Prayer, calls to —:
  adhân 73, 79, 82, 124
  iqâmah 73, 79, 124
  tarhîm 78–79, 81
  tas-hîr 77
  tatfiyeh 78
Prayer formulae:
  fât'hah (fâtihah) 37, 51, 57, 62, 75, 100, 139, 142, 151, 154, 158, 162
  tadhkîr (or taghfîr) 77–78
  tarâwîh 75
  tarhîm (the symbol of orthodoxy) 78
Predestination, doctrine of — 210
Presence of God in the heart 225
Priangan (Preanger), West Java 283, 286
Printing in Mekka 179, 303, 306–307
Printing in Cairo 179
Processions 220
Professors, of the Law, and methods of teaching 191, 195, 213, 227, 232, 256–257, 276–277, 284–285, 293, 301
Professors, eminent Jâwah — (*see* Jâwah divines)

Professors, emoluments of — 199
Professors, examination of — 190, 211
Professors, foreign — 199, 208, 227, 233
Professors, Hanafite 194
Professors, Shafiʿite 195, 197, 277
Propaedeusis 171
Purifying the heart ceremony 251

Qabḍ 107
Qabûs 52
Qâdî 141, 194, 199
Qâdî Qutb ad-dîn (*see* Qutb ad-dîn)
Qâdirite 60, 278, 281, 293, 296, 298, 300–301
Qâfilah's 50, 69, 87
Qandîls 143, 145
Qânûn 52
Qaraʾa 182 n. 3
Qarḍah hasanah 38
Qarêt fi ʾl haram sabʿah senîn 289
Qarînah 113
Qassâbahs 157
Qastalânî, commentator of Tradition 207
Qawânîn (modern laws) 67, 206
Qayyûm 51
Qazwînî, author 251 n. 33
Qêlah's 49, 87, 181
Qelâdah 149
Qiblah 173, 262–263
Qirâyah 130, 162, 181, 256
Qubbah 56
Qurʾan
  annotations 180
  exegesis 172, 175, 213–214, 216, 227
  learning of — by boys 126–129, 189
  recitation of — 128–130, 143, 161–162, 181–183, 186, 225–226, 252, 256
  recitation of — (the whole Qurʾan) (qirâyah) 128, 130, 162, 182, 256
  source of true knowledge 167
  use of — in magic ceremony 115 n. 8
Qurʾanic proverbs 213
Qurbân 258
Qurrat al-ʿAin, of Zein ad-dîn 205
Qurs (plur. aqrâs) 111
Qushâshiyye 56, 286

Qutb ad-dîn, author of History of Mekka 160 n. 35, 185–186, 250

Rabbanâ yebârik fikum, shakar Allâh masʿâkum 125
Rabîʿ al-Akhir 300
Rabîʿ al-Awwal 54, 56, 226, 294, 300
Races, in Mekka 3
Races, in assimilation of — 9
Raddâd (or mesâʿid) 147, 150–151
Râfiʿî, expounder of Holy Law 188
Ramlî, commentator on Holy Law 188
Rahmah 78
Rahmat Ullah, author of Iẓhâr al-Haqq 188, 211
Rakbs (swift caravans) 69
Rakb al-Ikhwân (caravan of the "Brothers") 65
Ramadhan (9th month) 49, 70
Ramadhan ceremonies, customs and prayers 79, 97, 117, 126, 238
Ramadhan little pilgrimages during — 76
Ramadhan ritual of — 71, 77
Rawâtib 74
Rawiyyah 309
Reciters, Qurʾan — 63, 112, 161, 181–182, 202
Rèjèb (7th month) 64–65, 76, 226–227
Religious exercises (*see* Dhikr and Môlid)
Religious feasting:
  mabshûr 52
  salât 52
Rèyyis 47, 56, 73, 176, 252–253
Rêzah 135, 148
Ribâ 6
Ribh 231
Ridâ ʾl-wâldeyn 150
Rîfâʿî 127
Rîkah ceremony 144–145, 148, 153–154
Rites (Moslim —) 197–200
Rites development of — 170
Rites four principal ones — 78–79, 82, 98, 172, 184
Rites union of — 184
Rosary, Mekkan 132
Rûhâniyyah 225
Rûm (Constantinople, Sultan of —, his power) 260

Sabhah (or Tasbîhah) 157–158
Sabî 33, 134
Sabîl al-muhtadîn 263
Sabir (or sibr) 106
Sacred Law (*see* Holy Law)
Safâ 50
Safar (2nd month) 50
Safar, last Wednesday of — 53
Sahan bimekabbatuh 142
Sahûr 71, 77
Saʿîd, son of Juneid, Batavia divine 142
Saints days 52–53
Sâkin 116
Salât (dish) 52
Salât (ritual prayer) 260, 293–294, 299, 303–304, 307
Salawât 130
Sâlih, Muhammed — Zawâwi, mystic; father of Abdallah Zawâwî 200, 223
Salons (mèjils) 125, 136, 157
Sambas, Khatîb —, venerated Qâdirite Sheikh 278, 287, 296
Sambûsak 157
Sarf 208
Sarif (En-Nawwâriyyeh) 50
Saʿy (ceremony) 80
Science, Mekkan attitude to modern — 173
Sêf el-mèslûl 148
Sèjjâdah 151
Selêmânîye (Afghans) 8
Senûsiyyeh brotherhood 64–65, 219, 222, 269
Serârah 134–136
Sèyyids 9, 12, 38
Shaaban (8th month) 69, 196
Shabb Nûbî 106
Shâdhilî order 222
Shafiʿite Law 193, 199
Shafiʿites 39, 54, 73–74, 79–82, 160–161, 181, 189, 197–199, 227
Shafiʿite students 200–201
Shahhâtin (criers, beggars) 4, 118 n. 13
Shâʿir 165
Sharʿ al-Sherîf (Sacred Law) 199, 206
Shaʿrânî, mystic author 219
Sharbînî, commentator on Holy Law 204
Sharqî (plur. shurûq) 197
Shâsh 139, 143
Shattâ, Sèyyid Muhammed —, father of Sèyyid Bèkrî 303–304
Shawwâl (10th month) 72, 85, 87, 227–228
Shâyah 43
Sheikh (significance of the word) 36
Sheikhs:
  Sheikh al-adhkâr (or at-turûq) 192
  Sheikh al-mashâʾikh 35
  Sheikh al-ʿulamâ 183, 192–196, 200–201, 206, 208, 213, 220, 236
  Sheikh at-turûq (or — al-adhkâr) 192
  Sheikh of quarter 151
  Sheikhs, Jâwah 231, 234–235, 247, 259
  Sheikh of mystic orders 219–220, 238
  Sheikh Negro — 15
  Sheikh pilgrim — 30, 120, 222–223, 226, 227, 228, 231, 255, 259
Sheikhat èz-Zâr 113, 115
Shèrbah 107
Sherbet-drinking, Mekka and Medina customs compared 87, 140, 143
Sherêk (or sukhkhânah) 156
Sherîfs 9, 188, 235
Sherifate, History of the —, by Ahmed Dahlân 178
Sheybah 27, 191, 235 n. 10
Shiʿites 79, 137, 160–161, 172, 178, 200–201, 209, 232, 252
Shîra 156
Shubbâk 43
Shurûq (sing. sharqî) 197
Silsilah 225, 297
Singing girls 60, 125, 132, 137, 146, 149–150, 153–154, 158
Sîrah, of Ahmed Dahlân 178
Sirâj al-Hudâ, of Zein ad-dîn 306
Siyâh 163–164
Slaves:
  eunuchs (âgha, tawâshî) 24
  freed slaves 17
  freed slaves (occupations of —) 16
  freed slaves (position and treatment) 19–21
  importation of slaves 14, 17
  liberation of — 16
  marriage of — 16
  music of — 16
  Nubians 15

slave brokers (dèllâls) 18
slave market 18
slave takers (jellâbs) 23
slave trading 22–24
Sleeping rooms 20–22, 40
Songs and poetry (festival —) 52–53, 61, 157
Songs and poetry (popular —) 51–52
Songs of praise:
Burdah 57, 300
Hamziyyah 57
Sons of the quarters 151
Spirituality of Sheikhs of mystic orders 225
Staff of Moses 177
Stone throwing customs 109
Subḥâna ʾllâh 263
Sûdân 15
Sudanese 114, 197, 262
Suffah 44
Sûfî mysticism 218, 220, 291, 304
Sukhkhânah (or sherêk) 156
Sukkar yâ habhab 245
Suleiman Efendi, sheikh of Naqshibandî 257, 302, 309
Suleiman Efendi, (controversy with Khalîl Pasha) 191, 193–194
Suliman, Ottoman Sultan, the madrasah of — 186
Sumatra students in Mekka 306, 309
Sumbáwa 305
Sumbulah 112
Sundanese 283–284
Sundanese divines 287–288
Sunnites 137
Superstitions prevalent in Mekka 108–109, 116, 210
Sûq el-harâdj 240
Sûq el-lêl 50
Suwêqah 50

Taʿawwudh-formula 206
Tablah 58, 126
Tadhkîr (or taghfîr) 67, 78
Taʿdîd 164
Tafsîr 213–214
Taghfîr (or tadhkîr) 77
Tahâr (or tathîr) 126
Taif 49, 149
Tajwîd 172, 183, 213
Takht 135, 156
Takhtîm 162
Takruri ʿâlim 189
Takruris 6, 231
Talâq 272
Talqîn 161
Tamin, brother of Nawáwi Banten 278–279
Taʿmîrat ar-râs 158
Tanʿîm 33, 53, 76–77, 135
Tannûr 142, 142 n. 26
Taqârîr (plur. of taqrîr) 28, 208, 238
Taqrîrs (licenses) 238
Târ 58, 126, 145
Tarâwîh 75–76
Tarhîm 78–79
Tarîqahs 65, 192–193, 218, 20–225, 256–257, 269, 272, 278, 281, 291–292, 296, 299–301, 308–310
Taṣawwuf 175–176, 216–219
Tasbîhah (or sabhah) 158
Tasbîrah 118 n. 15
Tas-hîr 77
Tasmiyah 123–124
Tatfiyeh 78
Tathîr (or Tahâr) 126
Taʿtîmah 156
Tawâf 30, 50, 80, 85, 239
Tawâjuh's 256
Tawḥîd 175, 208
Tèkbîs 117
Thaur, Mount — 251 n. 34
Theological controversy 169, 184
Theology, dogmatic — (see Dogmatic)
Time, division of — 81–82, 227
Tīwān (tuwan) 239
Tôb Benggâla 148
Tôb khefîf 148
Tombs: (holy and cursed —)
Tombs of Abu Lahab 109
Tombs of al-Mahjûb 62
Tombs of Aminah 62
Tombs of El-Mahdalî 61
Tombs of Ibrâhîm-al-Adham 57
Tombs of Khadîjah 62, 64
Tombs of Mêmûnah 51
Tombs of Muhammed 34
Tombs of Sheikh Mahmûd 58
Tomb keepers (reciters) 54
Tradition, Canonical —, formation of — 168–170

Tradition, Moslim —, status of women in — 162
Traditionists, opposition to logic 171–172
Traditions 215–220
  Traditions Bukhârî's collection of — 207, 227
  Traditions explanation of — 172, 207
Tree cult 66–67
Tubûl 15
Tumbâk 58
Tumburah 15
Turks (pilgrims) 228
Turks (role in Islam) 226
Tuwan (tîwân) 240

ʿÛdah maqtûʿah 149
ʿUddah 127, 163–164
ʿUlamâ 35, 38, 52, 153, 173–174, 189, 191–194, 220, 276, 298
Umanâʾ 157
Umm al-barâhîn, of Senûsî 306–307
Umm as-Sibyân 113
ʿUmrah 33, 53, 76–77, 244
Unbelievers (kafirs) 47, 262, 280
Unity, religious — among Moslims 170
ʿUnnâb Bukhârî 106
ʿUqus 144
Usûl al-Fiqh 172, 175, 207–208
Usury, Moslim law and practice concerning — 4

Venetian sequins, as amulets and hair ornaments 145
Visitors (zâʾir), pilgrims returning from the Holy Tomb at Medina 135

Wahhabis 197, 197 n. 6
Wahhabite heresy 195
Wahhidûʾllâh 160
Wakîl (Jeddah) 30
Walî (father or guardian) 141
Wálî (holy patron) 53, 297
Wali (Turkish governor) 56, 59
Wali Jauhar, feast of — 61
Walîmah 129–130
Wallâhi ʾl-ʿazîm wabillâhi ʾl-karîm 254 n. 38
Wallâhu aʿlam 305
Waqf houses 185, 274–275, 308
Weled en-nâs 119
Wetzstein, Dr. — (interpretation of danâdanâ song) 146 n. 29
Wine drinking, permissibility before Muhammed 211
Wirds 256, 269, 299–300
Women of Mekka 101, 107, 272
Women, lodging of — during festivals 58
Women, religious instruction of — 267–268
Women, status of — in Moslem Tradition 177
Wulwul 140 n. 24

Yâ Allâh, Yâ Rabbi 147
Yahyâ Bey, father of Khalîl Pasha 192
Yâ rabbî 182
Yâ Sabt yâ sabbûtah 116 n. 9
Yashmak 148
Yemeni 9
Yusuf, Hajji — of Krawang and his pupils 293, 293 n. 60

Zaghârît (*see also* Ghatrafah) 50
Zâʾir 135
Zakât 275
Zakât al-fitr (fitrah) 78
Zalâbiyah 109, 127, 136, 156
Zanzibar Moslims 197 n. 6
Zâr 108, 113
Zârâbiyân 125, 156
Zawâwi, Sèyyid Abdallah — son of Muhammed Salih — 200, 204, 223, 287, 301, 308
Zâwiyah 64, 64 n. 26, 222
Zeidite sect, (*see also* Shiʿites) 199–200
Zein ad-dîn, professor and author of Sumbawa 202, 205, 292
Zein, Muhammed —, Achèhnese author 307
Zein, Sheikh — of Rau, West Sumatra 309
Zemzemis 27–28, 71, 81, 246
Zemzem water 28, 73, 255, 280
Zêni Dahlân (*see* Ahmed bin Zênî Dahlân)
Zifâf 150
Zîr 123, 143
Ziyârah 159
Zuwwâr, plur. of zâʾir 135